

Unhappy Prosperity.

Expressed in the History of
ÆLIUS SEIANUS,

And

PHILIPPA the Casanian.

With

Observations upon the fall of
SEJANUS.

Lastly,

Certain Considerations upon the
Life and Services of Monsieur
VILLEROY.

Translated out of the Originals
By S^r. T. H.

Second Edition.

LONDON,

Printed by Thomas Harper, and are
to be sold by Nicholas Vavasour at
his Shop in the Inner Temple, 1639.



Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens Invenit-
Sejanus. / W. Marshall: sculp.



TO
The right Honourable,
WILLIAM, Earle
of Salisbury, Vicount Cran-
borne, Baron Cecill of Essen-
don, Knight of the Noble
Order of the Garter, and
one of his Majesties most
Honourable Privie
Councill.

Right Honourable,

BEhold Seia-
nus of Vul-
finium, and
Philippa the
A 3. Ca-

31-2; 02

The Epistle

Catanian : Prodigious
Examples of Ambition
in either Sex: Both which
having with great ap-
plause been already pre-
sented in France, by the e-
legant and curious Ma-
thieu, clad in the rich
robes of his purer lan-
guage, appeare now in
the poor habit of an En-
glish stile. Notwithstan-
ding, encouraged by
your Lordships particu-
lar affectio to this choice
Peece in the Originall,
and obliged for noble
favours conferred on
some

Dedicatory.

some neare unto mee; I
adventurously presume
on this present addresse
to your Honour; who I
doubt not will as freely
patronize this slender
endeavour of a weak had,
as the more polished la-
bours of a powerful pen.
The matters herein trea-
ted are important, the
Observations prudent,
Maximes of State usefull,
and Sentences weighty,
and had not our Author
with Posterity, suffered
in the much deplored

The Epistle

losse of some part of *Tacitus* his Annals, there could not have beene a worke more amply, and politely furnished out, to satisfie either the most judicious, or curious. His defects from that maine are unavoydable; mine pregnant, and (I feare) inexcusable. It rests in your Lordships excellent Nature, as with Iustice to apologize for the first, so with favour sweetly to dissemble the imperfections of the latter, whilst

I

Dedatory.


I with due acknowledg-
ment of much Obligati-
on, shall to your Honour
seriously devote the ever
ready services of

Th. Hawkins.



To the King.

SIR,

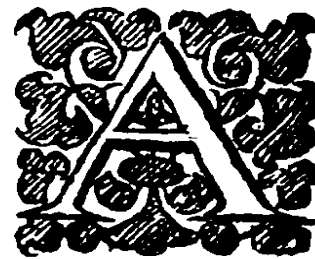
 *Hence* Capitol began and the Louvre hath revived this History, which I present to your Maiesty, amidst publicke applauses for the happinessse of your Monarchy. It is a Mirrour that flattereth not, but rather a pure and ChrySTALLINE water, which

which, at the same instant it sheweth the staine, taketh it away. You (Sir) shall therein behold, that a Prince ought to be very carefull to conserve his Authority entire: Great ones here may learne, it is not good to play with the generous Lyon, though he suffer it, and that favours are precipices for such, as abuse them.

P. Mathieu.



VN H A P P Y P R O S P E R I T Y.



Lthough Prin-
ces doe sove-
raignely dis-
pose of their
own harts; im-
pressing love,
and hatred on whom, or how
they list, yet ought we to wish
their affections towards parti-
cular men may be very just, and
regular; for if any disorder hap-
pen therein, it introduceth pub-
lique ruines, rendreth them o-
dious, and their Favourites mi-
serable: When the Play is end-
ed. the high heeld Buskins are
taken off, which raised them a-

Bbove

The heart
of a Prince
is free, and
only depen-
deth on
God.

*Excelsan-
tur, & ad
statum
suum rede-
unt. Sen.*

Magnus videtur? Illam cum sua basi metim. Sen.

Principum animi Dñi in R. P. variis artibus vitiosatur. Tac.

Pars exitio viguit creatores. Tac.

Si Nuvria Thulo favisset.

bove the rest, they are dispoyled the gawdy garments of the personage represented, they returne to their first forme, and teach us wee should not measure the Statue by the Column which supporteth it, nor judge of a man by his dignitie, or fortune.

The Heavens incensed against the Roman Empire, permitted this exorbitancie in the soule of *Tiberius*, through the excesse of favour he conferred on *Ælius Sejanus*, uniting in his person those charges, which ought to have been distributed amongst many, & making him so great, that hee had much adoe to unmake him. In the end, the ruine of the State, which was the foundation of his greatnes, was also the cause of his fall. Hee was the sonne of *Seius Strabo*, a Roman Knight, borne at *Vulturnum* in the Countrey of *Tuscany*; in his youth he served *Caius*
Cesar

Cesar, Nephew of *Augustus*; and was an associate in the execrable riots of *Apicius* the rich Prodigall; that famous *Glutton*, who having wasted his owne estate, and finding upon an account there remained no more than 200000 Crowns unpent, thought himself poor, and that this would not suffice to continue his intemperance: of which he had so deep an apprehension, that death seemed to him more tolerable than want, and so dranke downe a glass of poyson: Never tasted he a bitter draught than this last, which stayed the impetuous violence of his dissolutions.

Sejanus having acquire some reputation in the protection of Armes, his father *Strabo* presenteth him to *Tiberius*, entreating hee would be pleased hee might accompany him in his charge of Coronell of the *Pætorian Guards*, from which

B 2 time

The Kitchen of *Apicius* did need more than two millions of gold. H. C. 1111. 1112. 1113. 1114. 1115. 1116. 1117. 1118. 1119. 1120. 1121. 1122. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1126. 1127. 1128. 1129. 1130. 1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135. 1136. 1137. 1138. 1139. 1140. 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170. 1171. 1172. 1173. 1174. 1175. 1176. 1177. 1178. 1179. 1180. 1181. 1182. 1183. 1184. 1185. 1186. 1187. 1188. 1189. 1190. 1191. 1192. 1193. 1194. 1195. 1196. 1197. 1198. 1199. 1200. 1201. 1202. 1203. 1204. 1205. 1206. 1207. 1208. 1209. 1210. 1211. 1212. 1213. 1214. 1215. 1216. 1217. 1218. 1219. 1220. 1221. 1222. 1223. 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. 1228. 1229. 1230. 1231. 1232. 1233. 1234. 1235. 1236. 1237. 1238. 1239. 1240. 1241. 1242. 1243. 1244. 1245. 1246. 1247. 1248. 1249. 1250. 1251. 1252. 1253. 1254. 1255. 1256. 1257. 1258. 1259. 1260. 1261. 1262. 1263. 1264. 1265. 1266. 1267. 1268. 1269. 1270. 1271. 1272. 1273. 1274. 1275. 1276. 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2771. 2772. 2773. 2774. 2775. 2776. 2777. 2778. 2779. 2780. 2781. 2782. 2783. 2784. 2785. 2786. 2787. 2788. 2789. 2790. 2791. 2792. 2793. 2794. 2795. 2796. 2797. 2798. 2799. 2800. 2801. 2802. 2803. 2804. 2805. 2806. 2807. 2808. 2809. 2810. 2811. 2812. 2813. 2814. 2815. 2816. 2817. 2818. 2819. 2820. 2821. 2822. 2823. 2824. 2825. 2826. 2827. 2828. 2829. 2830. 2831. 2832. 2833. 2834. 2835. 2836. 2837. 2838. 2839. 2840. 2841. 2842. 2843. 2844. 2845. 2846. 2847. 2848. 2849. 2850. 2851. 2852. 2853. 2854. 2855. 2856. 2857. 2858. 2859. 2860. 2861. 2862. 2863. 2864. 2865. 2866. 2867. 2868. 2869. 2870. 2871. 2872. 2873. 2874. 2875. 2876. 2877. 2878. 2879. 2880. 2881. 2882. 2883. 2884. 2885. 2886. 2887. 2888. 2889. 2890. 2891. 2892. 2893. 2894. 2895. 2896. 2897. 2898. 2899. 2900. 2901. 2902. 2903. 2904. 2905. 2906. 2907. 2908. 2909. 2910. 2911. 2912. 2913. 2914. 2915. 2916. 2917. 2918. 2919. 2920. 2921. 2922. 2923. 2924. 2925. 2926. 2927. 2928. 2929. 2930. 2931. 2932. 2933. 2934. 2935. 2936. 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time the Prince began to take delight in his vigilance and vivacitie, with confidence that this man would one day with his manage, prove an instrument capable of any thing.

Hee followeth the Prince *Drusus*, whom the Emperour had constituted Generall of his Armie, to reduce under obedience, those who were revolted in Austria and Hungaria. This was the first testimony of the affection of *Tiberius*, who made choice of him to direct the youth of this Prince, and to give example of merit to others to arrive at recompence, and of worth to attempt things perilous.

Hee found out the humour of *Tiberius*, and so absolutely conformed his own therunto, that it seemed both their hearts had one and the same motion. This conformity entertaineth affection, and from affection so entice

*Refior juveni, &
ceteris per-
iculorum
premio-
rumque
ostentator.*

*Tiberium
obscurum
adversum
alios sibi
uni in eandem
intellamq;
efficit.*

tire a confidence ariseth that *Tiberius* trusting no man, doubted nothing in *Sejanus*, held nothing hidden, or concealed from him, yet never free from suspicion of others.

Favour attracteth all hearts, and all eyes wait on this new light. The Senate communiceth with him their most important affairs, and receive directions from his lips. In every place troops of Visitants are seen, who seek to him, or attend to offer him service: Great ones account his commands, as honours; if he speake to them, hee obligeth them; if hee cast an eye on them, they are pleased: They wait in the morning at his chamber doore, they are ready at his up-rising and down-lying, others swallow up the affronts put upon them by the Porter, whom they bribe with gifts, that they may gain the first opening or admission: And when they present

B 3

them-

Turba salutatrix.

There were three admissions to court him in the morning. Such an one waited all night to have the first admittance. *Diwas sorores expers semini colit. Sen.*

*Legitur
et laus
titer, off
feratur,
afficit, ad
miratur.
Tac.*

*Incubente
potentia -
cunctis con-
silio viro es
condum.
Tac.*

*Palam cō
positus pu-
der, intus
summa adi-
piscendi li-
bido. Tac.*

themselves before this Idoll whom they adore, it is but the better to counterfeit words of admiration to applaud him, or flattery to flatter him. To speake acceptably to a great man, to consent to whatsoever hee saith, to admire all he doth, to approve all hee desireth, are the principall pieces of Complacency, and ever admiration excuteth much of the office of flattery.

Hee was desirous his power being upon the first birth thereof to have men beleieve, it was supported with a firme resolution of the advancement of the Princes service, & the good of the State, and that nothing but justice should be seene in his actions, prudence in his counsels, and modestie in his fortune. He outwardly exercised moderation, inwardly ambition; but it was discovered in his expences and profusions, in the magnificence of his household furnitures and pi-
ctures;

ctures; in the prodigallitie of his feasts, sumptuous as sacrifices; in the beauty of his buildings, gilded like Temples. Hee seriously industrious, and vigilant, had a spirit prompt to discover others, and to take all sorts of formes, accommodating himself (according to occasion) either to simplicitie, or pride.

He being sole Captaine of the Pretorian Guards, lodged them in a part of the Citie, where in time of occasion hee might have them ready for his dispose; telling *Tiberius*, that Souldiers dispersed lived without discipline, and that seeing themselves daily to be assembled in one place together, number would beget confidence among them, and terrour with others; and, that distance from riots of the Citie, would the better keepe them in obedience.

This agreed unto, and their lodgings appointed, hee began

*Industria ac
vigilantia
hand minus
noxie, quā
res perinde
regno sin-
gular.
Tac.*

*Lasivis
mores dis-
tans. Tac.*

*Fiducia ip-
sis, in cete-
ris metus.
Tac.*

*Valium
statuasur
procul ardio
thecebris.*

by little and little to infuse love, and a good opinion of himselfe into their hearts, visiting the Souldiers in their Court of Guards, calling them by their severall names, endearing the Captains and Tribunes, entertaining the one with hopes, the other with gifts, and all of them with good words, which must never be wanting.

*Neque ambu-
bitu Sema-
torio affi-
nebat clien-
tes suos ho-
noribus aut
provinciis
ornando.*

Tac.

Favour
changeth
requests
into thanks.

To fortifie his faction the more, he addrest his practices and intelligences, to make himself great in the Senate, procureth his friends might be furnished with commissions, and honoured with charges and offices; supposing it was not sufficient to have authoritie among Souldiers, if credit & respect failed him among Iudges and Orators, that had reputation with the people.

In all his Designs, he found so much facility and affection in *Tiberius*, that he had little else to do, but to aske, and give thanks:

He

He denied him nothing, oft times preventing his suits, and protesting he deserved much more; calling him not onely in his Cabinet, but even in full Senate, the Companion of his labours, and commanding his Statue should be raised in publique passages, revered in Theaters, and borne in the front of the Legions. It was to destroy his owne service, to court his servant: For it cannot do well, when once the people shall perceive, that favour transferreth the soveraigne honours of the Superiour, to the Inferiour; and that a Prince admitteth a Companion to assist him in Empire. *Hercules* was willing *Atlas* should aid him, but it must be acknowledged, *Olympus* standeth more firmly on his shoulders, than on any others. *The sway of a Kingdome cannot in the same instant be divided between two.*

He disposeth all the actions of

*Sejanus so-
citus labori
Tibe. ii.*

Tac.

*Effigies per
theatra, fo-
ra, & inter
principia
legionum.*

Tac.

*Firmius
Hercules
cum cer-
vice pepi-
dit. Claud.*

*Non capit
regnum
duos. Sen.*

Tiberius to rigour and severitie; to the end he might lose the love of the people, who will not wish well to him, who doth nothing but ill for them. He had not much difficulty to perswade him to cruelty: All his inclinations tended that way; For in his first youth, *Theodorus* his Tutor in Rhetorique, called him, *Durt mingled with bloud*; so that hee had nought else to doe, but to finde, and seeke out occasion to excite his anger, which never was appealed without a sacrifice.

That
which a
Prince
doth for
favour,
ought to
have me-
rit, at least
in appea-
rance.

All honours and dignities were conferred by the recommendation of *Sejanus*. It was sufficient proof of merit, to alleage his alliance, and protest his favour, and yet was *Tiberius* willing it should be thought, he considered more the one than the other, to avoid blame; so taking from Vertue to give to Fortune: Hee had nominated two Proconsuls of Af-
frique,

frique, *Lepidus* and *Blasus*, and that hee might free himself from the ill opinion of him who should be excluded, hee referred to the Senate the election of the most capable. The one was a man of singular worth, the other Vncle of *Sejanus*, and for this cause confident to carry it. *Lepidus* loth to enter into competition with one much more favored & powerful, excused it upon his own indisposition, the minority of his children, and that he had a daughter marriageable; the Senate takes him at his word, following the blast of favour: *Blasus* made semblance of refusal of this charge, and all the flatterers loudly cry out, none but himself deserved it. The same favour that had raised him, maintained him, and dignified his most inferiour services, with amplest recompences. After he had, not discomfited, but rather skirmished against the forces of *Tacfarinas*,
Tibe-

It is a
great im-
pudence
to argue
upon a
charge a-
gainst the
one are
supported
by power-
ful favour.

*Ad consu-
latum non
misi per Se-
janum adi-
tus, neque
Sejanus vo-
luntas nisi
scelere que-
rebatur.*

Tac.

*Ut quippe
Sejanus in-
imicus, ita et
Cæsaris am-
icitiam va-
lidum: contra
quibus in-
fensus esset,
metus, &
scilicet
confidantur.*

Tac.

Tiberius commandeth the Legi-
ons to salute him as Emperour,
ordaineth triumphs for him,
which onely appertained to an
absolute victorie, and in all things
declareth it was for the love of
his Nephew *Sejanus*. Whoso-
ever had *Sejanus* for Protector,
needed not to seek out honours;
Hee that found him an enemy,
languished in neglect and mis-
ery. No honour was had without
his favour, nor could it with in-
nocencie, and worth be acqui-
red. Hee made *Junius Otho* to
come into the Senate, who ne-
ver professed ought, but to teach
as a Schoolmaster. Hee used him
as his instrument to ruine *C. Si-
llius* Proconsul of Asia, he accu-
seth him of extortion, and that in
execution of his charge, hee was
rather swayed by money than
justice. This was somewhat, but
other inquisitions were therunto
added, from which the most in-
nocent hardly could dis-involve
them-

themselves. They opposed against
him the most eminent orators of
Asia, whereas hee was not assisted
by any, nor had been accustomed
to speak in publique, and Feare,
which troubleth the best Speak-
ers, and most confident eloquence,
put his discourse into disorder.

Tiberius pressed him so potent-
ly, both with voice and gesture,
and by demands so strong and
powerfull, that hee was (as it
were) amazed, not daring to re-
ject, that hee might not incense,
and saw himself enforced to con-
fesse, that the interrogation
might not be rendred fruitlesse.
What a misery is this? The awe
of the Prince obligeth the accu-
sed to betray his owne innocen-
cie.

Amongst the numbers of those
accusers, *Junius Otho* a creature
of *Sejanus* was one of the most
passionate: for at his first en-
trance into the rank of Senators,
hee sought out occasions to ad-
vance

*Proprius
metus ex-
ercitans
quoque elo-
quentiam
debilitat.*
Tac.

*Sæpe etiam
confiten-
dum erat,
ne frustra
quævisset.*
Tac.

*Obscura
initia im-
pudentibus
ausis pro-
polluabat.*
Tac.

vance the obscurity of his beginnings by the impudencie and shamelesse boldnesse of his counsels, using the most audacious ways for the most whollome.

*Excusatus
accipitur
que sunt
suo exem-
plum, Tac.*

Silanius had more minde to have recourse to *Tiberius* clemency, than to confide in his own defence, hee therefore presented a petition to move him: But *Tiberius* desirous to destroy him, sheweth, that hee in this accusation sought nothing but the intentions of Lawes. And because, that, which is done by president carrieth excuse with it, hee causeth a decree to be produced out of the Registers, given under *Augustus*, against *Volesus Messalla*, who had also been Proconsull of Asia: but if the qualities were alike, the lives and offices were wholly different: the one cruell, the other covetous; for this man most inhumane, walking in the Market place, where he one day had

had caused three hundred heads to be stricke off, termed it a royall act, and of much magnificence.

It then comming to voices for a definitive sentence, *Lucius Piso* having cast out some specious words in commendation of the Emperours clemency, was of opinion, *Silanius* should be interdicted fire and water, and banished into the Island of *Gyara*. This his Counsell was approved by others, *Lentulus* addeth, the goods of the mother should be left to the Sonne, and *Tiberius* approves it. But *Cornelius Dolabella*, extending his flattery much farther, & sharply reprehending the actions of *Silanius*, saith, that hereafter the government of Provinces should be given only to such as were free from reproach, and of sound reputation in the Emperours Iudgement: for although laws were only ordained to punish crimes committed,

Orem regiam. Sen.

To praise clemency, and conclude wth rigour.
*Anteire ceteros parat, absurdum, in adulati-
onem progressus.
Tac.*

*Legibus delicta puniuntur quanto melius provideri ne peccaretur.
Tac.*

ted, yet it was undoubted, if misgovernment in the Magistrate were prevented, great benefit would redound both to those who were honoured with such charges, and to such as should be subject to their commands: for the one might conserue their innocency, the other their peace. Tiberius hereupon framed a discourse worthy of the wisdom, and reputation hee had among people, who are over-forward to applaud the actions of Magistrates, as was then said of Egypt, that it super-abounded in prattling, and artifices to calumniate Governours, and that many, so they might escape punishment, cared not to free themselves from infamy; Hee spake therefore in this manner.

I am not ignorant of what hath been published against Silanus, but wee ought not to resolve on any thing upon common bruit. Many have borne themselves in their pro-

vinces,

Loquax, & ingeniosa in contumeliam praefectorum: provincia in qua qui vitaverit culpam non effugit infamiam. Sen. Non ex rumore statuendum.

Affaires make men Quadam ad meliora excitantur magnitudi-

vinces, much otherwise than was either hoped, or feared: For the greatnesse, and difficultie, of affaires presented, raiseth courage in some, dunts and debaseth it in others. Then inasmuch as the knowledge of the Prince, cannot extend it selfe to all, nor ought to be diverted by the ambition of any, lawes are ordained for things after the future being most uncertain. For which cause our Predecessors have decreed, that the crime going before, the penalty should follow: you ought not to alter, that, which having bene once wisely established, hath ever bene approved. The Provinces are surcharged with too many affaires; They have sufficient authority, Right intesfined, when power is augmented, and it is unfit to exercise command in matters, where Lawes have provided.

This discourse was applauded, and the place of banishment changed to Cythara, Gyara being

too

ne rerum, bebescunt alii. Tac.

Leges in facto constituta, quia futura in incerto sunt. Tac.

Sepienter reperta, & semper placita non varianda. Tac. Non utendum imperio, ubi legibus auctoritas potest. Tac.

*Prudens
moderandi
animum, si
propria ira
non impel-
latur. Tac.*

*Insula Gya-
ra immitis,
& sine cul-
tu hominū
Tac.*

*Qui dabat
olim impe-
rium, fuit
legiones,
&c. Tac.*

*Duas tan-
tummodo
res anxius
optat, pan-
num, &
Circenies
Juven.*

*Pompeys
Theater
was dedi-*

too rude and savage. *Tiberius* shewed hee was able to temper his spirit, when hee was not moved with anger.

Sejanus alone disposed of the Offices and Commissions. The people no more entered meddling with the choice of Senators, nor any longer made sale of Suffrages and voices, and for the right they held over the election of Magistrates, Senate, and Legions, they contented themselves with shewes, sports of the Cirque, and ivery garments. There was not then a man alive, who had seene the Republique, the marks of ancient liberty being wholly defaced.

The greatest ornament of the City of Rome was *Pompeys* Theater, which was of such capacity, that it was able to accomodate 40000 men with seats. Fire casually happening therein, *Sejanus* quenched it, and hindered the mischief of this accident from

from proceeding any further. *Tiberius* purposing to re-edific it again, in full Senate commended the diligence and vigilance of *Sejanus*: the Senatours to please him, decreed his Statue should be erected near the Theater.

But as Princes doe nothing without some particular end, *Tiberius* in favouring *Sejanus* had one designe, and *Sejanus* in serving *Tiberius* propoted to himself another. No affection, nor fidelity cometh gratis. *Tiberius* was desirous the love hee bare to *Sejanus* might oblige him to serve him without condition, to secure thereby his authority; and *Sejanus* in serving the Emperour aspired to the Empire, yet willing to hide his own ambition. It was not affection in *Tiberius*, but rather necessity: for hee was desirous to make use of the wiles, and policies of *Sejanus*, to ruine the house of *Germanicus*, & advance his owne, and *Sejanus* purposed

to

ated to
Venus, it
was a Tē-
ple and a
Bourdell.
*Aex omniū
curpiendi-
um. Tert.*
*Labore &
diligentia
magna vis
intra unum
dammum si-
stitur. Tac.*
As the
Prince lov-
eth not,
to hee is
not served
but for
ends.
*Non tam
benivolentia
provoc-
xit, quā ut
effectus ejus
ministerio
ac fraudi-
bus liberos,
Germanici
circum-
veniret.*
Suet.

*Delus inter-
ualla
scelerum
pascibat.
Tac.*

It is ever
perilous
to change
the ordi-
nance of a
predecessor.

to climbe to the Imperial throne by the fall of both. His power was not so swift, as his will, which met with many mayn obstacles: For the stocke of *Cæsars* was yet whole and entire, the sonne young, the Nephews men grown: It was not in his power to ruine so many at once: For mischiefe required there should be distance, betweene such terrible counterbuffs, and that he practise the death of *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*, at the same time that *Tiberius* meant to murder *Germanicus*: For the heart more apprehendeth perils farther off, than the present. *Tiberius* saw nothing which made him jealous, but the brother, nor any thing put feare upon *Sejanus* ambition, but the sonne.

The worst counsell hee gave him, was to alter what *Augustus* had decreed, and hate what hee loved: For the extreme malice he bare against the house of *Germanicus*,

Germanicus, cooled the first affection he found (when hee came to the Empire) in the hearts of the Citizens, hastening as fast as hee could wish, to the overthrow of their liberty, and tumbling it by mayn force (as a rocke) into the gulfe of servitude, that it might never rise up again.

Germanicus was both favoured, and beloved of the people, because he was the sonne of *Drusus*, who formerly had undertaken to reduce the ancient government of the Commonwealth, and had imparted the project to *Tiberius* his brother: but he betrayed him, and discovered it to *Augustus*. It was supposed the sonne would have pursued the fathers plot, to set liberty again on foot, and that if hee should attain the Sovereigne authority, hee would not exercise rigour like *Tiberius*, but raigne sweetly as *Augustus*, who was Prince, and seemed Citizen, disdaining

*Roma ru-
unt in ser-
vitiū Con-
sules, Pa-
tres, Equi-
tes. Tac.*

*Credebatur
si verum
positum fo-
ret, liberta-
tem reddi-
tura. Tac.*

*Augustus
civile reba-
tur miseri-
voluptati-
bus populi.
Tac.*

daining not to be present in their popular recreations. For which cause) *Germanicus* swayed in hearts, and *Tiberius* only in Provinces: and being advertised, hee had pacified Germany, and that his wife *Agrippina* had there done all which might be expected from the Generall of an army, to shew her courage to the enemies, her bounty to the souldiers, her prudence in seditions, he became jealous: and jealousie degenerating into mortal hatred, made him lay unto her; *What shall the Emperours have hereafter to do, since a woman undertaketh to command over men, visit the Court of Guaras, oblige the souldiers with good words and large donatives?*

Sejanus, who loved not *Agrippina*, and well knew the humour of *Tiberius*, which brooked not any should trench upon his soveraigne Authority, (a thing so delicate, that how tenderly soever

*Nihil vel-
etum Impe-
ratoribus
ubi semina
manipulos
inter visat,
signa adeat,
largientem
tentet.*

it be touched, is alwayes wounded) wanted not arguments and surmises to entertain his jealousie, adding distrust to suspicion, to suspicion fear, and (as it were) a farre off, preparing the hatred of this Prince to worke her ruine in the end.

Germanicus returneth from Germany; The whole City rejoyceth. *Tiberius* commandeth, that only two companies of the Pretorian bands should march before him: all the people ran thither, the sooner to give themselves the contentment of beholding him, whom they so long had desired and expected. *Tiberius* grew so discontented hereupon, that hee resolved to cut off this brave Prince, who was but now entring into the foure and thirtieth yeere of his age, and had already gained as much reputation, as another perhaps could acquire in an age.

This hindered *Sejanus*, who tran-

*Odia in lon-
guum facies,
que recon-
deret, au-
tlaque pro-
meret, Suct.*

*Populus
omnis usque
ad vicesimū
lapidem se
effudit.
Suct.*

*Sceleratis
ingeniis, &
placquam
civilis cu-
piscitis.
non domi-
nari in star
servitutis
est. Calp.*

transported with the desire of rule, supposed this mighty power he possessed in the affairs of State, was nought else but servitude, whilst he acknowledged a Superior. *Tiberius* by his advice sendeth *Germanicus* into *Sclavonia*, under colour of honouring him with principall charges of the Empire: giveth him for Lieutenant *Gneius Piso*, an evill man, proud, and violent; with commission to observe his actions, & discover all his designs. It is said *Sejanus* gave him direction by writing, to make away this poor Prince.

He puts this in execution, *Germanicus* passeth into *Agypt*, and being there, was desirous to see the Idoll *Apis*, to know what his fortune should be. He presented it with meat to eat. *Apis* would take nothing from his hand, which was interpreted for a certain signe of his death. He was surprized with a long, lingring, & pain

*Apis ma-
nim Ger-
manici ce-
saris aver-
satus est
hand multo
post extincti
Plin.*

painfull sicknesse, and his opinion of being poysoned, augmented the violence thereof, so that hee held it incurable. The rumour came to Rome, much greater than the maledy; for distance redoubled it. Nothing was then heard, but teares and lamentations. And wherfore was it (saith one) that he was sent to the utmost limits of the World, that *Piso* was made his Lieutenant: These are the practices of the Emperesse with *Plancina*, the wife of *Piso*. (Poore Rome,) wee cannot affect those which love thee, nor dare we murmur against such as rule thee: adding therunto vehement and mortall imprecations against *Sejanus*.

It was reported by Merchants of *Agypt*, that he began to recover. This news was as soone believed as published. The streets were thronged with the preche of people that ran to the Temples to render thanks to the gods.

*Summa ex
beginning
facta. Tac.*

The pro-
ple ascrib-
to events
all actions
which
went be-
fore.

*Historia
Tacitus de-
scribit in
libro 14.
Tac.*

Proior in
tenbris
affirmatio.
Tac.

Salua Ro-
ma, salua
patria, sal-
uus est
Germani-
cus. Suet.
Germani-
cus could
not endure
the crow-
ing or
sight of a
cock. Plut.

Night favoured this rumour; Be-
liefe seems much more easie, and is
most confident in the dark. Tibe-
rius himselfe is wakened in the
night with the acclamations of
joy: Nothing was every where
heard, but these words, *Rome is
delivered, our Countrey is freed,
Germanicus is safe.*

After this poyson slowly-vio-
lent, had wasted all the heat and
moisture of this poore afflicted
body, his Allies & friends wished
it might not be irksome to him
to have or see a Cock, to sacrifice
it to *Æsculapius*; and that the
Gods would restore him life,
therby to give libertie to the Ro-
man Empire. In this his extreme
weaknes he breathed forth these
last words, to impresse them in
the hearts of his wife and friends,
whom sorrow dissolved into
teares, and much discomtorted.

Ger-

Germanicus his speecch.

IF I should die by the course of
Nature, I happily might with
justice complain of the Gods, that
they untimely had snatched mee a
way from my kindred, children, &
country, even in the flower of my
youth. But since my careere is stop-
ped by the malignitie of Piso, and
Plancina, I will poure into your
hearts these my last petitions.

I conjure you to present to the
Emperour my father, & my uncle,
how that after I had bene su-
charged with cruell injuries, and
afflicted with unsufferable disloy-
alties, I ended my deplorable life,
by a death more miserable. Those
who have followed my fortunes,
and are of the same blood with my
self, yea, those who have maintained
me when I was alive, shall sorrow
to see me ruined by the treason of
a woman, at the time when I most
flourished, and had escaped death

Qui pre-
maturo ex-
itu raptus
iis etiam
adversus
deos justus
dolor. Tac.

Ut timas
preces po-
stori us
velis re-
linquere.
Tac.

In terris
vita pejus
est morte
fletur.
Tac.

*Erit vobis
locus que-
rendi, apud
Senatum
invocandi
leges. Tac.
Non decet
defunctum
ignavo que-
ritu persequi.
Tac.*

*Vindicabitur
vos, si me
poenis, quā
fortunam
meam soue-
batis. Tac.*

*Fingeri-
bus scelestis
mandata,
aut non
creant ho-
mines, aut
non ignos-
cent. Tac.*

in so many battels : and your
selves also shall have cause to
complain to the Senate, and im-
plore the assistance of Laws.

The best office of friends, is, not
to follow the deceased with out-
cries and lamentations, which are
of no effect; but to remember what
he desired, and execute what hee
ordained. Germanicus cannot
want teares; Those who are no-
thing to him, nor ever knew him,
shall beweele him; but you ought
to revenge him, if you more affe-
cted his person, than fortune.

Let the people of Rome behold
the Neece of Augustus, the wife of
Germanicus, and the six children
he hath left behinde him. Compas-
sion will be extended towards
them, when they shall accuse the
authors of my death, & should the
accused faile, or finde out execra-
ble commandments for their pur-
poses (this touched Sejanus, who
herein had directed Piso) honest
men will not believe it, nor suf-
fer

fer it to passe unpunished.

All those who were present
swore instantly before Germani-
cus, to die, or revenge his death,
every one bewailing the losse of
so brave a Prince, who in his de-
portments shewed the greatnes
and worth of his fortune, and in
words so much sweetness and
affability. He turneth himself to-
wards his wife, conjureth her by
the love hee had borne her, by the
memory shee was willing to re-
taine of him, and by their mu-
tall children, a little to humble
her spirit, to accommodate it to
the times, and bend it to the ri-
gour of her fortune, in expecta-
tion of amendment. Take heed
(my Dearest) above all when
you shall be at Rome, not to give
occasion of suspition to those
who are more powerfull than
your selfe, and employ not the
affection you shall finde in the
hearts of the Senate and people,
to stand out in competition

*Magnitu-
dinem, &
gravitatem
summæ
fortune re-
tinent in-
vidiam, &
accusari
effugit.
Tac.*

*Fortuna
sevariis
submitta-
da animis
Tac.*

*Emulatio-
ne potentia
validiores
bandiri-
tandi. Tac.*

with their favour or ambition.

This was the most wholesome counsell hee could give her, but she held her self unworthy to be accounted the Niece of *Augustus*, wife of *Germanicus*, and mother of his children, if she had set an higher price on fortune, than vertue, or sought to enter into the favour of the Emperour by the help of *Sejanus*.

When the people of Rome understood that *Germanicus* was dead, their sorrow was so much the greater, as they beleev'd hee once before had beene snatched from them, and nothing was now every where to be seen, but grief & affliction. It was doubted whether he were made away by poyson, or witchcraft. The one was imagined, because his heart would not burne; and the other published, for that there were found about him, and in his bed, bones of the dead, characters, and charms.

The

Quasi rursus ereptum acrima desuit. Tac.

Cremati cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cujus ea natura ut tallum uereno igne confici nequeat. Suet.

The friends of *Germanicus* divulged every where, that *Piso* had murdered him, that *Agrippina* would be revenged, but hee hearing the news of his death in the Ile of Coos, made many sacrifices, *Plancina* his wife visiteth the Temples, hee neglecteth the menaces of *Agrippina*, and thinks on nothing but his owne establishment in the government of Syria, supposing the service hee had done for *Tiberius* would be sufficient to secure him, from the feare of this revenge, and confirme the recompence of his merit.

Vpon his determination to go into Syria, his sonne adviseth him to repaire to Rome, without taking notice of vain rumours, and weak suspitions, thereby to dissolve, or prevent the designs of his enemies, and gain advantage of the first impressions: That it was not fit hee so soone should think to re-establish himselfe in

Piso interperat accipit Germanicum excessisse, caedit victimas, ad templum, magis insolente Plancina. Tac.

Suspiciones imbecillae, aut inania fame non pertimescenda. Tac.

C 4 the

*Apud mili-
tes recess
deperit
memoria
perit.*
Tac.

*Utendum
evenit.
Dom. Cel.*

*Relinquen-
da rumo-
ribus tem-
pus, quo se-
rari
plurimque
innocentes
recepti in-
vidie im-
pares.* Tac.

the government of Syria, since *Sentius* was therunto deputed: That he could not hope great obedience from an Army, which yet deplored the death of *Germanicus*, and repented his memorie: That he would repent it, drawing upon himself the imputation of a Civill warre.

Domitius Celer on the contrary urgeth: That hee should reassume the charge had been taken from him, and replenish the place which was become void: That it would prove a point of imprudence, & perill, to arrive at Rome at the same time when *Agrippina* was to come thither, and that the people would be much moved with her cries and lamentations: That it was necessary to give time to these first bruits, wherby they might wax old, and that innocencie hath much ado to resist the impetuous violence of envie, when it is first enkindled: That it was convenient he should go in-
to

to Syria, to undertake command in the Army, and authority, in government, and that nothing was to be done, but to take arms in hand, and manifest himselfe in the field; and that things apprehended as perilous, oft times succeed more securely, than could be foreseen, or expected: That he need not feare any thing, since the Empresse was interested in his cause, and *Tiberius* obliged to dis-engage him: but rather that hee favouring him in secret, wold take it ill, this affair shold be so precipitated, as to enforce him to maintain it in publique: That it was undoubted, the most satisfied with his death would make the most shew of grief.

Piso, whose spirit ran more willingly into dangerous resolutions with courage, than into easie with prudence, followeth this counsell, & went into Syria, but findeth *Gneius Sentius* there, who not enduring to have, or suf-

*Multa que
provideri
non possunt
fortuito in
melius reci-
dunt.* Tac.

*Est tibi,
Auguste,
conscientia,
est Cata-
ris favor,
sed in occu-
to.* Tac.

*Perissis
Germani-
cum nulli
sacientia
marent,
quam qui
maxime
latantur.* Tac.

*Haud mag-
na ma-
Piso prom-
ptus fero-
cibus.* Tac.

The Tribunes and Captains deploring, bare on their

inoulders the vessels which held the ashes of Germanicus

*Agrippina appetant
Dolus patrie, solum
Augusti sanguinem,
unicum antiquitatis
specimen.*

Tac.

Tiberius ex quo angusta
publico abstinuere, ne
omnium oculis vultu
eorum servantibus
sibi intellegentur.

Tac.

fer a company in his charge, drave him out of the Province, besieged him in a Fortresse of Cilicia, and constraineth him to yield, and return to Rome.

In the meane time *Agrippina* imbarqueth on the Sea, with the ashes of her husband *Germanicus*; and arriving at Rome is received with many testimonies of honour, by all the Romane people, who witnessed an excessive sorrow for the death of an husband, and an unspeakable joy for the retarne of the wife and children. The people call *Agrippina* the honour of the Countrey, the onely and true bloud of *Augustus*, the pattern of ancient glory, and adde to their acclamations, vowes and prayers for the safety of the widdow, the infants, & ruine of their enemies.

Tiberius was much offended with these applauses, and would not be present at this reception, fearing lest his brow should dis-

cover

cover the joy of his heart for the death of *Germanicus*: hee therefore commandeth the people to moderate their sorrow, and bear, as himselfe had done the discomfort of his Armies, the losse of his Captains, and ruine of the noblest Families.

Presently after *Piso* arriveth, so much neglecting the threats of *Agrippina*, that *Marcus Vibius* a Friend to *Germanicus*, saying to him, it was fit he went to Rome, to purge himself, hee angerly answereth, as it were scolding; *You shall see me there, when the Pretor who informeth against sorceries shall have set a peremptory day to the accuser and accused.*

Hee entreth Rome proud and magnificent, in a glorious equipage, his wife brave & cheertull, the doores of his Lodgings adorned with Laurels, which much the more irritated the people. The next day he is accused of the death of *Germanicus*, and *Tibe-*

*Populus Romanus
cladem exercituum,
interitum
ducum, funditus amissas
nobiles familias
constanter
tulit. Tac.*

*Enleuere
pondus, assiduum
ubi Pretor
qui de vestris
quereret,
res atque
accusatori-
bus d. com-
pedit. Tac.
Fuit inter
irruentia
invicta de-
mos sero
imminens
f. Romanis
Tac.*

ius

*Vires, aut
in deterius
credita ju-
dice ab uno
facilis dif-
ferentia,
adversus, &
invidia a
pauci multos
valent.*

Tac.

*Handful-
ness Ti-
berius
in his cogi-
tations
that the
Senate
should be
Tiberius.*

*Patet se-
natus
consilium,
et prae-
sens
Tac.*

ria demandeth triall. *Piso* de-
recth it, yet fearing the affection
of the Senate to the memory of
Germanicus, and confiding the
Iudge would be his Protectour,
hee thought better to have re-
course to the authority of one,
than the passion of many.

Tiberius seeth it was an hard
task for himself to condemne the
culpable, and discharge his own
conscience: for well hee knew
the reports, which truth had
made currant every where a-
gainst himselfe and his Mother,
and that *Piso* had been but the in-
strument of his Parricide. Hee
was willing to handle this affaire
with little noyse, and therefore
heareth the accusers in the pre-
sence of *Sejanus*, and some of his
most confident and familiar
Friends; They require justice, &
adde menaces to their prayers.
It is not to be doubted, but hee
was counselled to suffer *Piso* to
perish, rather than suffer his own

re-

reputation to be wounded, and
*Princes use men no longer, than
they are necessary.*

But because the Historie no-
minateth *Sejanus* the Inventor
of all these mischiefs, it passeth
further, and saith the Emperour
ought not to entermiddle with
these affaires; for in condemning
Piso, hee too much should raise
the pride of *Agrippina*, and by
declaring him innocent, it would
be laid, Favour had so much op-
pressed justice, it durst not affirm
the confederate should free the
criminall: That it was necessary
to refer it to the Senate, and that
if there he were condemned, the
judgment would be ascribed to
the passion of *Germanicus* his Fa-
mily, if absolved, the blame
would be laid on the Senators.

Sejanus instructeth *Piso*, what
hee should say, assureth him the
impunitie of all his other crimes,
provided he tax not him; that the
Emperour would quench the

fire

*Facinorum
omnium re-
perator. Tac.*

It is fit to
proceed
wisely, &
maturely
in doubt-
full cases,
where the
Princes
reputation
is in ha-
zard.

*Ne in pa-
trocinium
quidem, ne
dum in glo-
riam est;
incensum
extinxisse
quid sece-
ra. Sen.*

fire hee had enkindled, and not suffer the sick man to die of the malady he had caused, and that his owne reputation (the onely engine of his authority) obliged him rather to ruine himself, than not to save him.

The frame of a Princes power is wholly built upon reputation

Piso appeareth in the Senate, Advocates are allowed to speake for the accusers, and others to defend the accused. The subject was well worthy the eloquence of the most able, and of those which sought not affaires, but were found out by affaires, and who better loved the importāce, and quality of employments than their titles, and multitude. *Tiberius* made an Oration with such a mixture betweene the accusation, and the accused, that it was verily supposed the cunning and contexture therof, was premeditated. The whole City was attentive to heare what the opinion of the friends of *Germanicus* would be, the confidence of the accused, the

Quanta fides amicis Germanici, que fiducia reo,

the countenance of *Tiberius*, and whether he were able wel to conceale and bridle the sense of his passion, or wold suffer it to break out. And the people, who otherwise regard not occurrents, gave themselves therein much liberty against the Prince, whether in speaking they discovered detraction, or through silence bewrayed their suspicion.

Tiberius his Speech.

YOU know (*Fathers*) saith *Tiberius*, that *Piso* hath heretofore been a friend to *Augustus* my Father, and his Lieutenant in the Spanish Army, and that by the advice of the Senate, he was constituted an assistant to my Nephew *Germanicus* in the manage of the Eastern affaires. Now is the time you ought with purified and untainted consciences to judge, whether through arrogance, or presumption of authority, hee hath wounded

satisne cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius, an promeretur. Tac. Populus multum sibi occulte vocis aut suspicacis silentii permittit. Tac.

Integris animis judicandum. Tac.

wounded the soule of this young Prince, whether he hath rejoyced at his decease, or traitersonly and wickedly procured his death.

For if in this charge of Lieutenantancy hee hath exceeded the limits of duty, if he hath neglected the respect due to a Generall, if he hath shewed any contentment in his death, and my sorrow, hee can not possibly, but incur my indignation. If so, I protest I will banish him my house, and revenge my displeasure, not in the quality of a Prince, but as a private person.

And if you shall discover any impiety, which ought not onely to be avenged, in this parricide, but in any other, I conjure you to consider therein your own sorrows, the teares of Germanicus his children, and ours his neer Allies; deny us not (I pray) a just consolation.

Of the one part remember, how Pilo hath demeaned himselfe, in the army, whether he have raised any troubles, or sedition, whether

hee

Legatus officii terminos, & obsequium erga Imperatorem non exuit.
Tac.

Facinus in cuiuscumque mortaliu necem, vindicandum. Tac.

Quæstio per ambitionem studium.
Tac.

hee have endeoured to gaine the affections of men of War, to aspire to command, and whether after Germanicus took his charge from him, he have sought to re-establish himself therein by force. On the other side, see whether these matters, as false, and invented have been published by accusers, for true, & be of greater consequence, than really they are.

For my own part I cannot conceale my distaste of their passion herein: For if wee be not (as yet) undoubtably certain of the cause of his death, and that information hereof is to be made, to what purpose have they exposed his naked body in the open market place of Antiochia, and suffered it to be handled, and viewed by the multitude, were it not to make a rumour runn amongst strangers, that he hath been poisoned, and to derive from this bruit more acerbitie, than proof.

Verily I deplore my sonne Germanicus,

Falsa in maius vulgare accusatores.

Tac.
Nihilis studiis accusatorum iure succenset princeps.

Tac.
Incerta adhue scrutanda sunt.

Tac.
Reus curia proferat, quibus innocentia ejus sublevari possit.

Tac.
Obiecta crimina pro adprobatis non accipienda.
Tac.

manicus, and shall all my life time bewail him, yet will not hinder the accused to produce whatsoever hee can to maintaine his owne innocencie, and to make prooffe of any injurie Germanicus hath done him.

For which cause I conjure you, that you receive not accusations for prooffs, under colour that this cause is conjoynd to my grief. And you the rest, who by right of affinity, or friendship, have undertaken the defence of the accused, employ your best endeavour and eloquence to vindicate his innocencie from perill; and I likewise exhort the accusers to shew constancie in their pursuit. All the favour we can do to Germanicus beyond the laws, is, but to be informed of his death rather in the Palace, than the Market-place, and by Senators than ordinary Judges. In every thing else equall moderation. Reflect not on the tears of my brother Drusus over his

Si cui propinquus sanguis, aut fides sua patronus deat, quantum quisque eloquentia, & cura valet juvare periclitanti. Tac. In accusations where the griefe of the Prince is joyned to the cause, his

sonne, nor mine for my Nephew, and much lesse on any thing that slander can faigne against us.

Therupon it was said, the accusation should be drawn within two dayes, the accused should have six dayes to prepare themselves, and in three dayes make answer. It was a hard matter to refell the poysoning; Confidence gave some favourable presumption for innocency, but staggered in the other crimes.

At the first session, *Vitellius* and *Veranius* related to the Senate, the last words of *Germanicus*, which softened hearts to pity, as affection had already prepared them for favour. *Fulcinus Trio*, in whom exclamation and speech were the same thing, desirous to acquire reputation by doing ill, began the accusation: but because hee produced but generall matters, and old inquisitions of what *Piso* had done, the Senate gave no regard to it: For all that could

not

interest is not be considered.

A strange proceeding: time is given to the accused to answer that which is within his owne knowledge, and the knowledge of Orators to colour their answers. *Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium, avidumque fama mala. Tac.*

*Vetera et
inania que
neque con-
victa noxia
sunt.*

not hurt the accused, although he had been convinced, nor serve for his discharge, though he were justified, if hee otherwise were attainted of more enormous crimes.

Vitellius accompanieth the vehemencie and force of his speech with much grace, and gravity, speaking in this manner:

Vitellius his speech.

The consideration of the quality of accusers fortifieth the accusation.

A cause strong in it selfe needs no help.

Although (Conscript Fathers) the quality of those who complaine, deserve consideration, yet is it not available but for such as seeke not support from ought else but justice, and the power of their own plea.

This cause carrieth its owne favour, nor needeth any other aid, but, that, of lawes, which is not denied to the meanest. I could say, those who now presently implore it, are of such quality, that if it be denied them, the

the Empire no longer shall stand in need either of Lawes, or Senate. The blood of *Augustus* requireth vengeance, the people expect it, the Iudges owe it, and you *Cesar* are obliged therunto, both as Prince, and Parent.

I seek not to make this accusation plausible, but in representing the crime as a prodigie, the criminall as a parricide, & the excessive such, that every one hath bemoaned it; forraigne Nations have admitted it, kindred have bewailed it. This Citie in all things commends moderation, except in so just a resentment of sorrow as this is: *Germanicus* is no more; Oh what grief? Wee have lost him; Oh what unhappinesse? *Germanicus*, the Worlds Darling, the Love of his Country, who had so much bounty for Citizens, so much courtesie for his Allies, so much modesty for strangers, hath been traiterously and miserably murdered: And
by

The authoritie of a Prince maintaineth the state, and it cannot last when the revenge of offences is contemned.

*Ingens la-
tus pro-
vincie, &
circumja-
centium
populorum.
insolens
extrema
nationis re-
gelque.
Tac.
Illi comitatus
in sociis,
mansuetudo
in bestes.
Tac.*

by whom? By *Piso*, an impious and ungratefull man; By whom also? By *Plaucina* a tury in the shape of a woman. By what means? By charms and poysons: who are the Complices? Sorcerers drawne out of Heli: And wherfore? to revenge injury, and usurpe on authority.

The souls of ill men (Fathers Conscript) are not instantly wicked, nor is there any man who embraceth mitchiete for nought, but the meere pleasure thereof. They by degrees give forme to their designs, and to direct them to the utmost limits. *Piso* by petty crimes is mounted to the greatest, from avarice to rapine, from thence to practices, so to ambition, and from ambition, to the violation of the authority of lawes, by that way to hasten to the contempt of the Gods. To Spaine hee hath given testimony of his avarice, to Syria of his ambition, and to the house of *Ger-*

manicus

Nemo tantum à naturali lege deiecit & hominem exuit, ut animi causa malus sit. Sen.

manicus of his impiety.

So soon as you honoured him with the charge of Lieutenant to *Germanicus*, hee dissembled not his ambition to become General, practising at Rome to make him odious to his father, and in the Army to be despised of the Souldiers. He laboured to draw them to his devotion, expelled the Tribunes who would not depend on him, filled their places with persons trusty, and to make himself beloved by men of war, permitted sloth in the Campe, riots in the City, insolence in the field, and was then called Father of the Legions. On the other side, *Plaucina* went equall with *Agrippina*, and undertook matters above the decorum of women, was often present in the exercises of the Cavallrie, and race of swift horses.

And though this was harsh to a temper whose actions were civil, yet he thought it more fit to dis-

Haud invito Imperatore edictis, occultis tum incedebat. Tac.

Desidia in castris, licentia in uribibus. Tac.

Ex quoque corruptione provenerat, ut in sermone vulgus patres legionum haberetur. Tac.

Secreta studia pati non potest animus ad civilia exercitia, agendique cupidus. Sen.

Si quando adfideret arrox ac dissensio manifesta. Tac.

dissemble them, than disquiet the Emperour his Father with troublesome complaints. Hee commandeth *Piso* to leade one part of the Legions into Armenia, or send his sonne thither, he made no account of the one or the other, and lost the opportunitie of a service most important for the Empire. When he sate in Councell with *Germanicus*, or on a seat of justice under him, hee sharply and impudently opposed all his designs.

I will recite an incredible insolence, but so certain, that he will not dare deny it, therby to manifest, that folly and malice were inseparable companions, and sisters in all his actions. Being present at a Feast of the King of Nabathæa, seeing the golden Crowns given him were not of like lustre or weight with those of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, he cast them to the ground, and full as foolish as malicious, undertook

tooke to reprove the magnificence of the Feast, discouraged against superfluity, and said such an expence was fit for a Roman Emperour, not the sonne of a King of Parthia.

Silly man, didst thou think ever after this to finde confidence in the soule, or security in the Friends of *Germanicus*, whom thou so shamelessly hadst offended, although he were condemned for being too good, and for suffering too much: Could'st thou suppose, there might be any safe retreat in the World, to protect thee from the anger of a Prince extracted from the bloud of *Augustus*? Hast thou ever heard the hearts of this line have been exasperated without ensuing punishment? And behold why *Plancia*, who could not esteeme her self happy, whilst *Agrippina* was so, told her husband he must either perish, or revenge himself, and either pull this thorn

D out

Hee who offendeth a Prince hath no safety but in absence
Erat Germanicus clementi. Sen.

Nemquam erit iustus, quem torquet. Sen.

Patres con-
scripti.

Plut.

It is a ge-
nerous
way of re-
venge, to
let the e-
nemy see
one can
be reven-
ged.

Resque in-
fectioni-
bis petre-
tur man-
ifestudine
tamen age-
bat. Tac.
Peto quā-
dāque in-
imminu-
ti ed usum
visum.
Tac.

Quis cuius
incharabi-
lis natura
es, cum
mundo
traxit
principi.
Sen.

out of his owne heart, or suffer
another to do it.

Admire (Conscript Fathers)
the goodnesse and generositie of
this Prince, who having so often,
and so sensibly been offended by
Piso, hath ever contented him-
selfe with letting him know hee
could have revenged, but did
save when he might destroy. He
came to Rhodes unto him, and
was well advertised of all the
practices he used against him, but
bare himselfe with such equality
and temper, that upon notice a
storm had cast him on the sands,
he lent vessels to dis-engage him,
although if he there had left him,
only Chance could have been ac-
cused of his losse, and Fortune
supposed to conspire in his re-
venge.

Germanicus visiting Ægypt,
was curious to see the sources of
Nilus, (that memorable River
which began with the World,)
and in his return, found *Piso* had
changed

changed the Decrees made at his
departure, altered what hee esta-
blished, and contemned his com-
mands. Hee was much troubled
herewith, his servants animated
him to relent it, and he could not
so dissemble it, but that choler
appeared by his words, and re-
venge in his menaces. *Piso* reti-
reth, *Germanicus* falls sicke; *Piso*,
who knew the force of the mala-
dy, removes not far off, and death
is hastened by the violence of the
poyson.

Ah, cruell man! Heare the
words of this dying Prince, yea,
dying words which eternally
shall live in the memory of the
Romans: *I die miserably in the*
floure of mine age by the treason
of Piso and Plancina; I conjure
you my Friends to let the people of
Rome know, these wretches cut
the throats of the Neece of Augu-
stus, and her six little children.
Where are hearts to be found,
which these words doe not rent

D 2

asunder?

Amici ac-
cendendis
offensio-
nibus callidi.
Tac.

The last
words of
a dying
Prince
fortified
the com-
plaint a-
gainst the
authors of
his death.

*Tutum ali-
qua res in
mala con-
scientia
prestat,
nulla secu-
rum. Sen.*

*Subdola
mora scale-
rum proba-
tiones sub-
vertit.
Tac.*

*Mibi fas-
ces, & ius
Prætoris
mibi legio-
nes dant.*

asunder? Yet thou *Piso* livest still, and the Sunne affords thee her light; Thy conscience not knowing where to hide thee, hath brought thee hither to suffer punishment, denying thee the safetie thou elsewhere hast sought. As it hath failed thee in deliberation on this crime, so hath it betrayed thee in leading thee to punishment: What hast thou done after this parricdie? Thou didst visit the Cities of Asia, and spend thy time in the fair houses of Achaia.

This was done; to the end proofs might vanish, and witnesses die. It is needfull (Fathers Conscript) to let *Piso* in the condition of a man convict, to reduce him into the state of one accused.

Hee hath not done as the good man *Valerius Publicola*, who being accused, forsook his house at *Velia*, and lodged in the Town, to the end hee might ease them

of

of the trouble, to finde him out.

The innocent man flyeth not from judgment, but he that is culpable avoideth the Iudges.

If he had been accused for taking armes, he purposed to shelter himselfe with the power he had in Syria under *Germanicus* his Generall; if to have laid hands on publique treasures, he supposed the share which he distributed among his Friends, would save the rest. Hee escapes for a little who robbed much.

If *Martina*, the notorious Witch and Sorceresse, a great friend of *Plancina* were alive, she could declare the whole mystery of this treason. The friends of *Germanicus* caused her to be brought towards Rome, but when shee arrived at Brindisi, shee suddenly died, and the poyson hid in the knots of her haire, appeared not on her body.

Whē great ones are accused, they must appeare upon easie summons.

D 3.

If

*Venerum
noda crimi-
ocultatum
nec ulla in
corpore sig-
na sumptu
exitii re-
perta. Tac.
Suum in-
sidius ex-
ternas in-
ter gentes
ecidit.
Tac.*

*So Lepri-
na sued
her hus-
band Sa-
binus in
the time
of Vespas-
ian.*

If presumptions may assist veritie, it cannot be said this Prince who found lesse securitie among his owne, than with strangers, was murdered by any other than *Piso*. Who hath done it? He had displeased none but him, and upon the resentment of this offence, hee was declared his enemy, he assaulted him in his Chariot, and it is known to be a very hard matter, to separate the desire of death, from that, of succession.

Wee heretofore in this place have heard of one proscribed, who to enjoy the goods of his wife, told her he would kill himselfe, she resolved to beare him company. Hee prepareth the deadly drug, but so craftily, that drinking first, hee left the poyson for his wife, which through the weight thereof remayned in the bottom of the glasse. She dieth, he was in health, and enjoyed the wealth she left him by her Will.

Will. *Never is that poyson escaped, which is given by the next heire.*

Who rejoyceth more at a death, than he who procured it? And desires it more ardently, than hee that expects it with much impatience? How did *Piso* entertain it? He made Sacrifices, he offered Victimes; *Plancia* is so transported with this joy, that shee laid aside the mourning weeds she was putting on for the death of her sister, and attires her selfe with the fairest, and richest garments of her Wardrobe.

This accusation aboundeth with so much variety, and his resolution to free himselfe from *Germanicus*, is replenished with so many mischiefs, that they smother, and by heaps precipitate one another in this discourse, so that I have much ado to marshall them in order. I had forgot to tell you how *Piso* sent Spies to

D 4 know

*Id genus
venari facit
quod pon-
dere substi-
deret in i-
mam jectio-
nem, bis it
iste usque
ad venam
venit. Sen.
P.
Lullus leto
cultu mutatus. Tac.*

*Nil ordi-
natur quod
precipita-
tur & pro-
perat. Sen.*

know the condition of *Germanicus* his sicknesse, and the symptoms therof. This displeased the sick man, and much troubled his minde, not with feare; for death never terrified him; but with anger and passion, apprehending that so soon as he should expire, *Piso* would usurpe command over his Forces, and his wife rest at his discretion. *Piso* in like manner was perplexed, the poyson was so slow, that it wrought not it's effect soone enough, he therefore returned into Syria, to be nearer the Legions, and upon occasion to make use of them. Which was the cause *GERMANICUS* laid in his anguish of minde.

How then? must I die, destroyed by mine enemy, shall he see mee give up the ghost? What shall become of my distressed wife, how shall she be entreated, what shall my children doe, to whom
teare

*Hospi lenta
videtur
veneficia.
Tac.*

It is a very sensible griefe to dye in the sight of an enemy, & to leave a

teares in this calamitie will not be wanting to weep for mee, though words (perhaps) faile to deplore me?

Let that happen, which Heaven will, Piso hath taken away my life, but hath left me courage; nor am I reduced to such debility, that I ever shall consent the murderer may derive reward from my death. Hereupon hee sent him a Letter written with his owne hand, to this purpose, that hee held him for an enemy, that he forbade him access to his house, and abode in that Province.

But there is no doubt, but witchcraft succeeded poyson, since the bones of the dead were seene torne from the members, and fastned to the wals, & roofs of the chamber, characters with charms and imprecations, the name of *Germanicus* engraven on plates of lead, ashes halfe burnt, and mingled with the putrification of ulcers, & other

wife and children in his power.

When the Romans would breake friendship with any one, they gave them notice thereof, & forbade them their house. *Tit.*

*Malis suis
animam
minibus
inferni sacra.
Tac.*

incantations and impieties, with which they use to bewitch any one to death, sacrificing him to the God of Hell.

*Moderatus
curtus qui
vult propius
regredi.
Tac.*

Although this Prince were dying, and in the agonies thereof, *Piso* feared him, and at his command weighed anchor, and departed; but went not farre off, that his return might be speedy, when hee should have notice of his death. And if all this put together serve not to convince him, where shall truth seeke for proofs?

*Ingenium
voluntum,
obsequii ig-
nium.
Tac.*

Thus (Conscript Fathers) you behold before your eyes a man marked from his mothers wombe for violence, and the spirit of rebellion; for he is sonne of a father, who followed the faction of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. He not onely is an extortioner, but a robber; not an entermedler, but seditious; not an enemy, but a rebell: not a murderer, but a tormentor. Never did any Criminal

minall more exact your justice than this man, for the execration of his crime enforceth you to condemne him: and if in despite of Gods and men you pardon him, it will be impossible to free him from the hands of the people, who expect him: and heare (Conscript Fathers) their exclamations, there is not any woman so low of stature, that promiseth not her selfe to teare some haire from his head.

Propose to your selves, what their joy will be, when they see the heads of rebellion dragged after a triumphant chariot, and the next day executed, for satisfaction of the inhumanities, and cruelties they committed in their Provinces; yea, much more will they be pleased, when they shall behold *Piso* in torment.

They lose their patience, if you doe not speedily pronounce these solemn words; faze, Executioner, this Parricide, this

Cicero saith, the crime of *Verres* enforced the Judges to condemne him.

When the triumphat passed to the Capitol, hee put his prisoners over to the Magistrates, & durst not bring the to his lodging.

Thiete,

*Lictor colle-
git manus,
caput oban-
bito, arbo i-
nfelici su-
spendit.*
Cic.

*Non majus
scelus in R.
P. commisit
viri; quam
is qui cum
a tam ne-
fariis stele-
rent, sen-
tentia sua
litterant.*
Cic.

In judge-
ment upon
men of
quality,
the time
& reason
of State
are to be
considered.

Thiese, this Rebelle, binde his hands, blinde-fold his eyes, and fasten them to a miserable gibbet. And who knoweth, whether the multitude transported with grief and sorrow, will rest there, whether they will be contented with the punishment of one alone, and not rush upon those who favoured this impious man, esteeming them more wicked than him.

No, no, (Conscript Fathers) there is no dalliance herein, the matter is too important, the consequence too great, and this man of such condition, that it would be full of danger, to commit any error in his execution. I beseech you (beleeve) that neither the accused, the time, place, reason of state, nor quality of the interested herein, can give consent to steale him from example, to deliver him in private, and not to suffer him to die in publique.

Marcus Lepidus, who had as much

much eloquence as might be, (for never any man could have enough speaking for *Piso*) in this sort answered the accusers.

Lepidus his speech.

IT is a great calamity (Fathers Conscript) for poore *Piso* to have been happy. Great honours many times serve for the felicitie of those who nothing deserve them, and such as merit before they obtaine them, finde their ruine by a strange extravagance, or coozenage of Fortune, which affording content to others, hath given to this man nothing but misery.

The great services *Piso* did for *Augustus*, obliged the Emperour to create him *Germanicus* his Lieutenant; but this honour was accompanied with so many disadvantages, that his fidelity found no favour, nor his counsell credit in the heart of this young Prince, who

*Eloquentia
nulli tota
contigit.*
Sen. P.

Great honours are burdens, which oppress those who beare them.
Ludos facit fortuna.
Sen.

Unhappy
is the dig-
nity which
hath no
credit
with the
Prince.

*Nec in a-
stra lenta
veniet via,
iter ruina
queret.
Sen. T.*

*Necesse est
opprimant
onera, que
ferente ma-
jora sunt.
Sen.*

who nothing dismayed by the encounter of things impossible, raised his thoughts beyond dutie, threatned the Sun with darknes, the Ocean with thraldome, and from hence mounted to imaginations of greatnesse, which troubled the Emperour.

His affection to his Countrey, his loyalty to his Prince, obliged him to watch over his actions, which he ever found so bold, and vehement, that he thought this young *Hercules* meant not to climbe up to the Stars fairly, or peaceably, but would violently passe thorow the breach to the ruine of the Empire. These aimes of an exorbitant ambition, could not happily succeed, nor was *Piso* amazed, when the Priest of *Apolloes* Oracle told him at *Colophon*, this should not long continue: the charge he undertook being too heavy for his forces.

But as Princes better love to be soothed in their follies, than ad-

advised of their duties, hee presently was distasted in that *Piso* rather desired to displease him with truth, then content him with flattery. Hee esteemed his freedom presumption, when he shewed him the way from which he wandred, and what he ought to follow, yea, even then when hee told him hee should wrong the Majesty of the Empire, to entertaine with favour men of slight condition, and courteously countenance those abject Athenians who ever followed the contrary part to ours, nor have at any time been without some plot of revolt against us, formerly aiding *Mithridates* against *Sylla*, *Anthony* against *Augustus*.

Was it (I pray) by the Counsell of *Piso*, that hee entred into *Egypt* contrary to the ancient ordinance of *Augustus*, who recommended unto you for a secret of State, never to suffer any great

*Malo veris
offendere,
quàm pla-
cere adulā-
do. Sen.*

*Quod collu-
vium illam
nationum
comitate
nimia colu-
isset. Tac.*

*Inter alia
dominatio-
nis arcana
Augustus
veritis se-
posit. Æ-
gyptum.
Tac.*

*Levi pro-
ficio ingen-
tes exerci-
tus coercen-
tur. Tac.*

*In vulgus
grata, sine
milite ince-
dere pedi-
bus, inte-
llus, & pa-
ri cum
Gracis a-
missu.
Tac.
Tenu men-
dacium pel-
lucet. Sen.*

great man to passe into Ægypt : for in revolting against us, they might with a few resist a vast Army, and by forbidding the trade of corn, starve Italy.

Recall (Oh *Cæsar*) into your memory (for nothing of worth escapeth you) the disgust you received when *Piso* gave advertisement that this young Prince directed all his actions to vanity and ambition, who to gain the the peoples hearts, gratified them with gifts of Corne and Money, marched up and down without a guard, on foot, ill attended, and clothed like a Grecian, as heretofore *Scipio* did.

All the furies of Hell could never have invented a more detestable Calumny than this poyson of which *Piso* is accused, but it is so slender, and transparent that falsehood may be seene thorough it. How is it possible that you *Vitellius*, who have an open eye, and a cleer judgement (that

I

I may not alleage matters superfluous) should at this time fixe your self on contrarieties, what likelihood is there that *Piso* eating at *Germanicus* table, who ever narrowly observed him, could have leisure to take poyson, to rub his fingers therein, and so infect the meat. Is this easie to be done in another mans house, in the presence of a Prince, who hath assay made unto him, and so many eyes about him which observe all?

If this this be true, *Piso* is willing, not, that the hand which perpetrated this parricide should be cut off, but the heart which imagined it, be torne alive out of his brest, and that this truth may be known, he offereth his whole Family, and Servants to be put on the rack.

He is not without fault; what man is free? Diamonds have blemishes, fair faces moles, but he is neither Villaine, nor Traitor.

Those

*Non minus
vitandum
supervacua
dicere,
quàm con-
traria.*

*Sen.P.
Absurdum
inter alie-
na servitia,
& tot a-
stantium
visu. Tac.
Qui patrem
pulsaveris,
manus ei
precidan-
tur. Sen.P.
Offerebat
familiam
reus, & mi-
nistros in
tormenta.
Tac.*

There is nothing so deformed as an injury

which reculeth back against him who spake it.

Plut.

The Magistrates ought to be more tender to become feared than loved.

There is nothing so naturall as to hate those who have persecuted us.

Those that traduce him of pride, want not arrogancy themselves, if he be hasty, they are violent: never hath hee attempted on the life of his Princes.

If hee have used some severity in his charge, he did it rather out of duty, than disposition, *It is for Princes to make themselves beloved, and for Magistrates to be feared.* If he have failed in respect and affection towards *Germanicus*, it is a hard taske to be enforced to love him, who resolves, and vowes your ruine. *Germanicus*, like all great men, wrote *Piso's* services on the sand, & all his offences on marble, if we so may call the sincere and free counsels, which he for his better direction gave him.

Hee protesteth the death of *Germanicus* hath drawne from his heart, a growing thorne, a continuall feare, that hee is glad to see his house freed from so potent an enemy, *Tiberius* from a Nephew so ambitious, the Em-

pire from a Prince so over daring. *Germanicus* would have ruined *Piso*, and heaven hath destroyed *Germanicus*, and in dying made him know, there is a supreme justice above, which revengeth the violences of great ones, over inferiours. Are they permitted to spit in our faces, or to set foot on our throats, because they are above us? Nay, the least creatures have questioned the Eagle. Nothing is so sweet as revenge, at what price soever; It is a viand, that is swallowed without chewing.

But never hath *Piso* attempted on his life, as desirous of his death, and it being well known to have been naturall, it is a great impiety to faine it was violent. The Gods would have it so, it is not lawfull either in earnest, or by way of discourse to dispute of their power.

If he have endeavoured to gain some credit among Military men,

The Eagle having taken away the young rabbers, the Dam undermineth the tree, and throweth down the nest of the Eagle, and her yong ones stand to her mercy.

Mala & impia consuetudo contra deos disputandi, sive ex animo id fiat, sive simulate. Cic. Prompta Pisoni legionum studiis.

*Amor affectus liber,
qui vices
exigit. Plin*

*Ferina rabies sanguine gaudere.
Sen.*

*Nihil tam periculosum
fortunis innocentum,
quam tacere adversarios.*

men, it was but to lessen the exorbitancy of *Germanicus*. His ambition hastened to ruine, *Piso* to conservation, the one gave cause of jealousie to *Tiberius*, the other of caution to *Germanicus*. If hee have acquired good opinion in the Provinces, is he forbidden to cherish it? Are not affections free, what hurt is it to make them mutuall?

But hee rather chose to bow under *Cæsars* goodnesse, than stiffly dispose himselfe to the defence of his innocency. With clasped hands therefore he implored this royall vertue, which abhorreth the brutish thirst of bloud, and humbly beseecheth you (O great Prince) to imitate heaven, which hath more thunder to affright, than lightning to punish.

But if all prove inexorable, & that the accusers hasten to ravish and snatch away this soul which they so much have turmoiled and

and afflicted, hee will die with this comfort, that his innocency found no protection, and rather had he perish, than offend those, who might have saved him.

There resteth darknesse in the accusation of poison; It is a Pyramis which doth not entirely discover it selfe, for of three sides there is alwayes one which cannot be seen, *Piso* and *Plancina* his wife appeared, but the third hid *Tiberius*, and *Tiberius*, *Sejanus*.

This first audience ended, *Piso* went out, but the people were so incensed against him, that had he not been conveyed away in a Litter by the guard, he never had returned to his house, safe, and alive. That which the multitude could not do on his person, they acted on his statues, dragging them to the Gemonian staires.

Plancina his wife who had promised to undergoe his fortune, wholly inclined to levity

(a

A Tribuna deductus, vario rumore, custas salutis, an mortis explor. Tac.

Portia said shee was not onely a partaker

of the bed and table of her husband, as a Concubine, but was the Companion of his good and evill fortune, as his wife.

Plut.

This opinion was common, and *Josephus* affirms it. The mad-love drink is quaffed in silver instead of Greek wine. Life-killing *Arsenic* is tasted in a golden dish.

(a naturall vice of that sex,) and being well assured of her owne life by the favour of the Emperesse, neglected *Piso*, and abandoned him, as if shee had been married to participate with him only in prosperity.

The Iudges for many respects were implacable to the accused, *Cesar* was willing he should die, because hee entred with armes into the Province, the Senate constantly believed *Germanicus* was poysoned, and among violent deaths poysoning is abhorred with the greatest execration, because therby persons most precious and esteemed are torne from the Common-wealth; for poyson more easily is mingled & compounded in golden, than earthen vessels. There is no Antidote hath more vertue, or efficacy against poyson, than a private condition, which neither feareth avarice may attempt on his state, nor envy on his dignity,

yet

yet it is most certain, this poysoning was never cleerly proved, nor confidently affirmed by the accusers: There was no speech hereof either in Antioch or Rome, but according to the affection men beare to the dead, or hatred against the living.

Tacitus saith it is not certain that the marks of poyson appeared on the dead: *Suetonius* affirms hee was covered all over with purple spots, that he fomed at the mouth, and that his heart was found whole among the ashes: *Pliny*, that, *Vitellius* pressed this very hard, that *Piso* retorted the arrow back, against those that shot it: and as one affirmed that *Germanicus* being poysoned his heart resisted the fire: so the other maintained that dying of the Cardiaque discale, his heart could not be burnt. So the Hypothesis ever rested in the question, and both the one and the other had truth on his

side,

Veneri crimenes accusatores non satis firmabant. Tac.

Prætulit ne veneficii signa præcensisset. Tac.
Livores toto corpore, spume per os fluebant, cor inter ossa inruptum. Suet.

*Negatur
cor cremari
posse in his,
qui Cardia-
co morbo
obierint, &
veneno in-
teremptis.
Plin.*

fide, it being equally true according to *Pliny*, that the hearts of those who die by poyson, or the Cardiaque evill are not consumed by fire. But the worst passage of *Piso's* proceſſe, was, the extreme boldneſſe of the people, who taking rumour for proof, cryed out at the Court gate, that if justice were not executed on *Piso*, they would do it themselves.

All this much amazed *Piso*, who on the second day appeared in the Senate, to see if any change were made in this first severity. But he found the wind very contrary, *Tiberius* so cold, that for fear of discovering himselfe, he inclined neither to anger to ruine him, nor to pitie to afford him any hope. He thereupon judged he was to have no recourse thither, either for his innocencie, or truth. Yet notwithstanding *Sejanus* told him, *Tiberius* would take his opportunity

*Nulla magis
exterritus est,
quam quod
Tiberium
sine miseratione,
sine ira obstina-
tum, clausumque
vidit. Tac.*

tunity when time required, and not see him lost; others terrified him saying, Although hee were declared innocent for the death of *Germanicus*, hee would be put to death for other crimes: For *Tiberius* was so much exasperated with his taking armes in Syria, that he resolved to make him an example, not suffering his service to counterpoise the crime.

Sejanus regarded not the losse of *Piso*, so he concealed his secret commission; but much he feared, lest seeing himselfe condemned, he might complain in the Senate of judgement, and at his execution, of the Emperour, and that hee should speak, if not against *Tiberius*, at least against him. The consideration of his children choked in his soul all resentment of the injury he suffered; and seeing himselfe lost, would be ruined alone. And that their innocency might be distinguished

E from

Who is convinced of one crime, is punished for many. In crimes against the State, there is no compensation of merit for the fault.

The interest of children transporteth Parents.

It is a
madnesse
to die for
feare of
death.

Cæsar fle-
xo in ac-
tivism ore.
Tac.

Pleraque
sapienter,
quædam in-
consultius.
Tac.

from his punishment, he wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, beseeching him to take pity of them, & that done he resolved to die, thrusting his sword thorow his owne throat. Hee died not for feare of death, but, not to satisfie his enemies in the manner. If there be any thing troublesome in a publique death, it is onely the grief, and shame of content therby given to an enemy.

When this death was related to the Senate, *Tiberius* shewed sorrow in his face; but it was feigned, and to distract the judgments made upon this occasion to his prejudice, and settle his countenance by his discourse, he among other things informed himself of that, which *Piso* had done the day before, and how he spent the night. Some there were who answered with discretion, others more inconsiderately, as upon the like occasions there are some, who cannot endure to be

be accounted so foolish, as not to know that, of which we wish they were ignorant.

Hereupon *Tiberius* read the Letters, which *Piso* had written to this purpose. *since, Cæsar, I see my self oppressed by the conspiracy of mine enemies, and the violence of a false accusation. which affordeth no place in the Senate, either for truth, or mine innocency; the Gods are my witnesses, I have not failed in duty towards you, or reverence to your mother, for which cause I beseech you to think on my children. Gneius Piso ought to have no share in my fortune, whatsoever it be; for he stirred not out of Rome. Marcus Piso dissuaded me from going into Syria, and I could wish the Father had accommodated himselfe to the youth of the Sonne, and the Sonne not yielded to the age of the Father. This is the cause, why I with the greater instance humbly intreat, his innocency may not feel the punish-*

E 2 ment

conspirati-
one mini-
corn, &
invidiis
crim. is re-
tali, &
laudant
miquam lo-
cus. Tac.
Quæ san-
guis, fortu-
ne me non
est adu-
lus Tac.

Nulli quid-
quam pol-
lucere
miseri-
cordia
in sollicitis
est. Tac.

*Pravitate
scenas in-
noxius non
laet.*

*ment of my obstinacie ; and seeing
my self in a condition never to beg
of you again, I conjure you by for-
ty five years service, by the esteem
your Father Augustus had of me,
when I was his Colleague in the
Consulship, and by the friendship
you have professed, to preserve my
poor Sonne.*

Hee spake not a word of his
wife; For how could he remem-
ber her, who forgot him in this
extremity, and had perhaps pro-
mised the Empreſſe and Sejanus,
to open the chamber doore for
murderers to kill him. Tiberius
having read these Letters, said;
Although Piso had deserved the
misery wherinto hee was faine,
yet was hee moved to pity, for
the respect of his house, that it
was notwithstanding very rea-
sonable, to preserve the siens of
the tree which was felled down,
and not to lay the punishment
on his guiltlesse children, wherof
absence discharged the one, and
the

*Ex arbori-
bus quas
ventus, aut
turbo evul-
sit suble-
vis residua est
f. vinda.
Sen.*

the Fathers command excused
the other; and therefore they not
lyable to the crime of taking
armes. As for Plancina, hee be-
sought the Senate to yield her up
to the prayers of his mother.
The whole assembly well saw
the impudency, and impiety of
this request, good men murmu-
red against this woman, as the
cause of Germanicus his death,
and Pisos slaughter. Shall then
(say they) the Empreſſe have the
honour to save the murtheresse of
her grand-childe, to visit her, to
comfort her in the death of her
husband, to snatch her out of the
hands of the Senate? The Laws
will not allow to Germanicus,
what they grant to the meanest
Citizen. Vitellius and Veranius,
who were nothing to Germanicus,
have bitterly deplored his death,
and Augusta his grand-mother
defended Plancina, that hath
caused it; and what may wee ex-
pect from hence, but that the force

*Pater jussu
filius non
potest de-
victare.
Tac.*

*Fas avie
interf. tri-
cum nepotis
adspicere,
adlaqui,
erigere Se-
natui?
Tac.*

*Plancina ex-
actis senel
poder
capite in
abertis ex-
trem facit
la ventura-
tur. Tac.*

*Nemina
fcluratio: n
e fastis ra-
dendi. Tac.*

*Concessa
Plancinae
inco'mittas
ob preces
Augustae.
Tac.*

of poysons, and witchcrafts, ha-
ving so prosperously succeeded,
shee likewise will employ them a-
gainst Agrippina, and her chil-
dren, to allay the thirst of the
Grand-mother and Uncle, with
the blond of this miserable Fa-
mily, and so satisfie the rage of
Sejanus.

The opinions summed up, *An-
relius Cotta* saith, the memory
of *Piso* ought to be abolished,
and his name rased, and blotted
out of the Calenders, & Annals,
the moyty of his goods confisca-
red, the other given to his sonne
Gneius Piso, with command to
change his name, *Marcus Piso*
deprived of Office, and banished
for ten yeeres, and to have five
hundred Sesterces for his enter-
tainment: Life given to *Planci-
na* in consideration of the Em-
perres request. All consented to
this opinion.

Tiberius, who had what hee
desired, sweetneth the rigour of
this

this judgement: for the hatred
of *Plancina's* absolution made
him lesse severe against the chil-
dren, there being no apparance
why hee should pardon the mo-
ther a murderesse and condemne
the innocent children. Hee saith
the name of *Piso* should remayn
in the Annals, as well as *Antho-
nies*, who had invaded his own
Country. *Messalina* saith, A gol-
den Ensigne should be railed in
the Temple of *Mars-Avenger*,
and *Cacina Severus* an Altar to
Revenge. *No* (saith *Tiberius*) it
is not good, in victories atchieved
on strangers, domestique miseries
should be covered with sadnesse.

Fulcinus Trio, who so lowdly
had declaimed against *Piso*, be-
sought the assistance of his fa-
vour, the better to charge the
accused; he answered, Take heed
you precipitate not your elo-
quence by the violence of your
passion. Hee was offended,
that hee too much had pressed

E 4

Piso

*Padere fla-
gitii prin-
ceps plac-
bilior sit.
Tac.*

*Nomen
Marci An-
tonii, qui
bellum pa-
triae fecit,
fastis man-
se. Tac.
Domestica
mala tristi-
tia operien-
da. Tac.*

*Facivdia
non est vio-
lencia pre-
cipitanda.
Tac.*

*Re-um hu-
manarum
ubique lu-
dibris.*

Tac.

*Audivi ex
senioribus,
qui ad no-
stram usque
juventam
duraverunt.*

Tac.

*Elusus à
Sejano per
vna pro-
missa Piso.*
Tac.

Piso in the matter of poyson; for all the words that were spoken on this subject, touched him very neer. He wished him to represent the passion of *Agrippina*, without passion in himself. Behold the vanity of humane practices.

Hereupon *Tacitus* saith; *I remember I have heard it told in my youth by those of that time, That many pieces had been seen in Pilo's hand, which he did not publish, but that his Friends affirmed every where, they contained the Commission and command, which Tiberius gave him against Germanicus, and that hee resolved to produce them in Senate to convince the Prince, but that Sejanus had deceived him with faire promises, and that hee killed not himself, but that one was sent in the night, who murdered him.*

Death delivered *Piso*, but *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* were not thought the more innocent, and every

every night these cryes were heard about the Palace, *Give us Germanicus.*

This death, whether it were voluntary, or forced; much abated the hatred of the people against *Piso*, and encreased it against *Tiberius*, the rather that he had saved the wife, and having drawn this miserable man into a precipice, wold not deliver him. If *Piso* had permitted the Laws and Justice to take their course, and suffered like a man that feared not death, his misery would have beene deplored, *There is no life so odious, which ending in publique with constancy and modesty, changeth not hatred into pitie, & pitie into favour, leaving a friendly opinion of innocencie behinde it.*

The death of *Germanicus* gave no lesse content to *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, for this Prince held all their resolutions under controll. *Tiberius* esteemed not himselfe

*Per noctes
creberrime
acclamatio
est, Redde
Germani-
cum. Suet.*

*Præbe te
legibus.
Sen.*

*Cōfidence
lesseneth
the infam-
y of pu-
nishment.*

Our enemies in-
force us to
live regu-
larly and
to preserve
life irre-
prehensi-
ble as in a
strait diet.
Plut.

*Inquam ex-
hibentur.
re.*

Emperour, while hee was alive, and *Sejanus* despaired ever to be so, or to dispose of the Empire, so absolutely as hee afterward did, for this Prince held him short, as one may say, to a strait diet. The good affection he possessed in the mindes of all, both great, mean, and middle sort, much crossed his ambition. But after his death, fortune afforded him a prosperous gale, till pride and insolence rent the sails of his vessel, and designs.

Tiberius thought he had more authority, yet was not esse distrustfull, imagining that as many Friends as *Germanicus* should leave, were so many conspirators. And therefore often said, he held not the Empire, but as a Wolfe by the eares, fearing he might escape, and escaping bite him. He supposed every man had a purpose to take him out of his hands: He caused the Horoscopes of the principall men of Rome

to be calculated, and such as the Stars promised eminence above other, he depressed, banished, or put to death. Hee knew *Galba* might arrive to this point, so that meeting him on the day of his Marriage, he said; *And thou Galba shalt one day taste what Empire is.* Yet he attempted nothing against him, for this dignity seemed fatally destined unto him.

Sejanus among the rules of his policy held this ever, to nourish distrust in the soule of *Tiberius*, to the end that not relying on any man he might onely confide in him.

The great houses descended from those brave and generous spirits, which had been sacrificed to preserve the liberty of their Country, were by *Tiberius* (who resolved to raise the absolute sway on the foundations of *Augustus*) suspected, and to *Sejanus* odious, who could not endure vertue to oppose his fortune. *Libo*

Drius,

Dion. &
Tacit.

Liboni
proavus
Pópeius,
amita
Scribonia,
consobrini,
Cæsares.
Tac.

Disertus
mori res
novas. Tac.

Pro cespita
p'ambena
culter.

The little
hatchet of
the Sacrificer.

Drusus, as being descended by his Father from *Augustus*, and by his Mother from *Pompey* the great, was one of the principall of the Roman youth, and, as this his birth giving hope to his courage gained him respect among the greatest, so was it the cause of his fall.

His youth prompt, and inconsiderate, transported him to thoughts more haughty, than the times would permit, for which cause he was perpetually had in jealousy by *Tiberius*, so that being at a sacrifice, he commanded the Master of the Ceremonies to give a leaden Knife to *Libo*, who was one of the Sacrificers, lest he might attempt somewhat on his person. Another time demanding audience in secret, he caused his sonne *Drusus* to be called, and counterfeiting to stand in need of support whilst he walked, he held *Libo* (who spake to him) by the right hand, carrying his

his eye steady to observe all his motions. This young man had a Roman Citizen whom he held his intimate Friend, that conspired his ruine, supposing the shortest way to make a fortune, was to overthrow those, who gave cause of suspicion to *Sejanus*. He impressed in this giddy spirit, that there was some great thing designed in Heaven for him, hee led him out to riots, which caused excessive expences, and those put him into inconveniences, which this wicked Friend sweetned with false hopes. Necessity made him dream on his future fortunes, and that thrust him into the curiosity of knowing from Astrologers, what the Stars promised him (the ordinary retreat of minds which admit a Master.) Wherefore that he yet might understand more, his Friend brought him to conferre with Magicians, who aske of their spirits what they knew, and

*Juvenis
improvidus
& facilis
inani bus.
Tac.*

*Hortatur
ad luxum,
& es alienum
socius
libidinum.
& necessi-
tatum quo
pluribus in-
diciis inda-
garet. Tac.*

Tib. non
vultu alie-
natus, non
verbis com-
motior, cur-
sta ejus di-
cta satiaq;
cum probi-
bere posset
scire malle-
bat. Tac.

Reus obso-
letius ve-
stiebatur.
Cic.

It was not
permitted
to any but
the sick to
goe in a

and never tell truth: for a while
after all his hopes were turned
into despaire.

The Senatour discovereth all
this to *Tiberius*, who is heartily
glad to see this young man in the
snare, yet desisteth not to shew
him a good countenance, afford-
ing him the title of *Pretor*, and
oft calling him to his Table. Pre-
sently after he caused him to be
accused in the Senate as of a mat-
ter weighty, important, & enor-
mous; behold he is brought into
the condition of one accused;
he changeth his apparell, the
principall Ladies of the City his
allies, solicit for him: There was
not a man to be found would
speak in his defence; for when a-
ny question is made of a Conspi-
racy against a Prince, all interces-
sions are suspected, and favours
held crimes. Hee went to the
Court in a Litter, for this stroke
not foreseen, had weakened the
forces of his health, and so sup-
ported

ported by his brothers arme, hee
entred into the Senate, and a
farre off beholding *Tiberius*,
stretcheth out his hands, and im-
ploreth mercy with much hu-
mility.

Tiberius readeth all the points
wherof he was accused, it not
being perceived either by his
countenance or words, that hee
had a purpose to sweeten, or ex-
asperate the affaire. The whole
matter consisted in things rather
curious, than wicked, rather vain
than serious, and which more re-
quired pity, than correction.

Hee had asked the Souths-
ayers, whether he should ever be
so rich, as to be able to cover the
Appian way to Brindisi with
pieces of money. A list likewise
was produced against him, by
which it appeared hee had made
certain ciphers under the names
of *Cæsars*, and Senatours, as it
were a marke upon those hee
meant to ruine, and the way
how.

litter to
the gate of
the Senate
house.
Tiberius
comming
thither the
sick man
would
have no
train.

Stolida &
vana, & si
melius acci-
piantur, mi-
seranda.
Tac.

*Questio in
caput do-
mini. Tac.
More ma-
jorum de
servis in
Dominum
ne tormen-
tis quidem
queri licet.
Cic.*

*Necessarii
deservierant
impia jam
non rem,
sed famam.
Sen.*

*Quid te
debeat a-
lienum re-
gotium sa-
vere? Sen.*

how. He denieth all. The Senate adviseth his slaves should be put to the torture, but *Tiberius* rich in subtilties, and subtile in inventions, caused them to be sold, therby not to offend the Lawes, which receive them not as witnesses against their Masters.

Hee returneth to his house, born in a Litter, yea, rather his Coffin, for he went to death, nor was there any other difference, but that his Friends denied him this last office, and no creature followed him. He sent a Kinsman of his to *Tiberius* to implore his mercy, but his answer was, he should make his addresse to the Senate, he sought out his Grandmother *Scribonia*, and asked her counsell, whether it were best to hasten his death or expect it. This couragious woman made answer, *Why will you execute the office of another? Performe your own.*

Shee thought it a neglect of
ones

ones proper businesse to live at the direction of another, & that *he who expecteth to be led to execution, doth the worke of the hangman*: The condition of humane things is wrongfully accused: *Hee that will not himself, is not miserable*. The only sight of viands brought for his last dainties touched his heart; he resolveth to die, calleth one to kill him, pulleth his servants to him, puts the Knife into their hands, praying them to afford him this last office. They deny him, abhorring such a commandement, not so much for pity of him, as of themselves, fearing to be punished; for *although death serve as a remedy for such as beg it, yet is it a crime in those that give it*. The more hee pressed and urged them to kill him, the more they retired, and stepping backe overthrew the table, so that the lights which stood thereon were extinguished.

This

*Excruciant
epule in no-
vissimam
voluptatem
adhibite.
Tac.*

*Etiā ubi
remedium
est mors,
scelus est
occidere.
Sen. P.*

*Feralibus
jam sibi te-
nebris duos
ictus in vis-
cera dire-
mit. Tac.*

This darknesse confirming his resolution, and beginning his owne Funerals, he gave himselfe two stabs with a Knife in the belly, he cryed out, and fell, the whole Family ran up into the Chamber, the souldiers hastened thither, and seeing their work done, departed. When this passage was related to *Tiberius*, he counterfeited sorrow, and sware, if the dead man had let him alone, he had yet been alive, himself being resolved to have pleaded for him.

*Adulatio,
vetus Reip.
malum.
Tac.*

*Iduum Sep-
tembrium
dies quo se
Libo occi-
derat festus
Tac.*

Confiscation of goods was prosecuted, and the Senate through flattery (an ancient wound of the Republique) gave them to the accusers, abolished the name, and statues of *Libo*, and put the Ides of September among the solemne Festivals, because on that day the Emperour had been delivered from a great perill. Their was also a Decree made against Mathematicians,

and

and Magicians, and *Lucius Pitu-
anus* who was of this unhappy profession, was thrown head-
long from the top of the *Tar-
peian* hill. Their banishment was
but renewed again; for it had be-
fore been decreed; they should
forsake Italy, in that through a
deceitfull knowledge of starres,
they abused vaine and idle peo-
ple.

Sejanus was freed from Prin-
ces, Pretors, and Senators, he was
willing Rome should know,
there was not any condition of
men exempt from fear of his for-
tune and power; hee presently
layes hold on the Philosophers, as
those whose lives hee hated for
innocency, and whose tongues
he dreaded for liberty. He ba-
nisheth *Attalus* a Stoick Philo-
sopher, a man of singular inte-
grity of life, admirable eloquēce,
and incomparable learning; The
sect of Stoicks being a most
worthy and venerable compa-
ny,

*Caldæi
pluribus at-
que ineptis
ingeniis sy-
derum fal-
laci inter-
pretatione
quæstuosam
mendaciam
suis Caligi-
nem infici-
unt. Val.
Attalus
Stoicus so-
lum veris
à Sejano
Circumscri-
ptus, mag-
ne vir elo-
quentiæ, ex
Philosophis,
subtilissi-
mus. Sen.
P.*

*Malitia
maximam
partem sui
veneni bi-
bit.*

*Quicquid
expectanti-
bus fortuna
proiecit, id
sine ulla
voluptate
dimittimus,
statim ad
rapinam
alterius
erecti, &
attenti.
Sen.*

ny, and as different from others as men from women, I cannot imagine wherein he erred, but in that *Sejanus* tooke to himselfe in particular, what he meant to all in generall, when he said, that he who offended others, first displeased himselfe, and that the wicked man taketh the first draught of his own poyson; was not this to tell *Sejanus*, that all his violencies returned on himself, as rivers to their source? When he said men were unsatiabie, and that having received some benefits from fortune, they presently beg others, as dogs, who no sooner swallow one morsell, but they instantly gape for another, discovered not hee this gulf of greedinesse, who having ruined one Family, threatned another

This Tyger shewed his hatred against the choice wits of his time: A Poet having written some few free words against him,

him, was put death, not for that, but because in a Tragedy he had injured *Agamemnon*, and spoken against the honour of Kings: *Tiberius* punished the offences committed against *Sejanus*, as rigorously as those that concerned himself, he was perswaded hee himselfe received the counterbuffe of all that, which wounded him. Princes are offended, when their Favourites are blamed, because it seems to them the weaknesse of their judgment is condemned, in the election of a subject unworthy of their favour. The workman is bound to defend his workmanship. The Painter is troubled, if durst be cast on the picture hee hath drawne. Old faults are sought out, to make new examples of severity. The Senate decreed the Statue of *Sejanus* should be erected in *Pompey's Theater*, which *Tiberius* had re-edified. *Cremutius Cordus* vexed with this injury

*Quod in
tragedia
Agamem-
nonem
probris la-
cessisset.
Suct.*

*Hee who
blameth
the favour
of a prince
condem-
neth his
judgment.*

*Quis non
rumpens
supra cin-
eres Gn.
Pompei
constituere
Sejanum ?
Sen.*

*Novum, ac
primum
Auditum
crimen.
Tac.*

Plut.

The cre-
dit of ac-

jury done to the memory of *Pompey*, cryed out aloud, It was not to re-edifie, but to destroy, thus to set *Sejanus* above the heads of the Romans, to raise a mean Souldier upon the monument of a prime Captaine. Hee spake truth, but *Verity excuseth not the imprudence of those, who inconsiderately are transported into the censure of great ones.* *Sejanus* beareth this in minde, and accuteth him not therof at all, but disposeth *Tiberius* to enquire into his life, all the parts of which were found innocent and commendable. But his writings were examined, and an History he composed of *Augustus*, and which *Augustus* himselfe had read. He was accused not to have sufficiently honoured *Cesar*, and *Augustus*; too much praised *Brutus*, and called *Cassius* the last of the Romans.

His accusers were *Satrius, Secundus*, and *Pinarus Natta*, crea-

creatures of *Sejanus*, and this quality made the ruine of this man accused most infallible, and thrust his innocency into desperation. Yea, the Iudge himselfe made him perceive by his stern countenance, & words of reproof, that he saw there, not to heare, but to condemne him; not to arraigne, but to appoint his execution: *Cordus* likewise came not thither to save his own life, for he was certain to lose it, but for the honour of truth, and the glory of his writings. Hee spake in this manner.

Cordus his Speech.

My actions are so farre innocent, that nothing is questioned, but my words, and yet they offend neither the Emperour, nor his Mother, who only are comprized in the Law of Majestie. It is said I praised *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, whose actions are regi-
stred

users is the despair of the accused, *Sejanus* clutches pernicious reas-
Tac.

Innocencie of actions should excuse the folly of words.

Verba mea arguuntur, ad res sum factorum innocens.
Tac.

There is not an historian, which becomes not passionate on one side, or other.

Scipio a man worthy of all warlike commendation.

Plut.

Afranius, Lieutenant of Pompey against the Parthians & the Arabians. Plut. Cassius an enemy of Tyrants from his infancie. Plut.

sted by many, nor is there any one hath mentioned them, but to their honour. Titus Livius, to whom the prize of eloquence, and truth is attributed, hath so highly commended Pompey, that Augustus called him the Pompeyan: which never impaired the friendship contracted between them.

Hee useth not those names of Thieves and Parricides, which now are imposed on Scipio and Afranius, on Brutus, and Cassius; but often stiles them brave, and excellent men. The Historie of Asinius Pollio makes an honorable mention of them: Mesalla Corvinus extolled Cassius as his Generall, yet both the one and other have bin powerfull in riches, and honours. Cæsar the Dictator was pleased to answer in an Oration by writing (as before his Judges) to a Book which Cicero made, to raise Cato his enemy as high as heavē. The Epistles of Anthony, the speeches of Brutus ob-

ject

ject to Augustus things false, and relate them with much sharpnes, and animositie. Men spare not to reade the verses of Bibaculus, and Catullus, though forced with injuries against the Cæsar. Julius and Augustus have permitted, and scorned them. And I cannot well tell, whether they have shewed more moderation, than wisdom therein. For slanders passe away, if they be despised; and seeme avowed, if relented. I speak not at all of the Grecians, for not onely their liberty, but temerity also hath been unpunished, and if any one hath blamed it, words have revenged words. But it always hath beene a matter of freedome, and without reprehension to speak of those, whom death hath enfranchized from hate, or favour. Can any man say, that I with my Orations excite the people to rebell, and take armes for civill warre while Brutus and Cassius are armed in the Phil-

F

pick

Brutus well wished by the people, beloved of his own, esteemed of honest men, and hated by none. See the Epigram 20 of Catullus.

Convitia
Brevis ex-
positio, si
namque
vita videri-
tur. Tac.

pick fields? It is now threescore & sixteen yeers, since they died: As they are knowne by the Statues, which their victorious selves erected, so writings have preserved their memories. Posterity redreth everyone the honour, which belongs to him, and if I be condemned, there may those be found, who will not onely remember Brutus, and Cassius, but mee also.

Hee had reason to adorne his discourse with examples of *Caesar* and *Augustus*. For the world hath never seen any thing equall to this their generous bounty in pardoning slanders. *Calvus* the Orator, and *Catullus* the Poet, desperately detracted *Caesar*: Truth setled shamefastnesse on their foreheads, and repentance in their consciences. *Caesar* was satisfied with it, and seeing *Calvus* desired his friendship, and durst not entreat it, in an expresse Letter he offered it himself: As

Caio Calvo post famosa Epigr. ac reconciliatione per amicos agentibus ac prius scriptis.
Suet.

for

for *Catullus*, hee invited him to supper the same day he published his Poem against him.

For *Augustus*, I finde none to paralell him: *Timagines* a noble Historian, wrote against him, his wife, daughters, and all his Family. Hee adviseth him to use his pen and tongue with more moderation, especially concerning his house and friends: for *Augustus* had bred him up. O extreme ingratitude! He perseveres. *Augustus* enforced to take notice hereof, wiseth him to retire. *Asinius Pollio*, esteeming more the promptnesse of this wit, than his dutie to the Emperour, lodgeth, and entertaineth him. *Timagines* absolutely declares himself an enemy of *Augustus*, burneth that notable History, which hee had composed of his Reigne, affirming hee deserved not to be remembered at all, and that the good hee had delivered of him, was altogether

F 2 ther

Valerius
Cicullus
perpetua
stigmata
suis versu-
culis impo-
suit Cæsa-
ri. Suet.

Timage-
nem Cæ-
sar munit,
ut modera-
tius lingua
uteretur,
perseverax-
is, domo su-
a intro duxit:
postea in
convivio
Pollii
confestim.
Sen.

Erueit mi
Pollio
puere.

ther false. *Augustus* swallowed all this, and was pleased to say to *Pollio*; *You nourish a Serpent.* But *Pollio* desirous to reply in his excuse: He stopped his mouth, saying, *My friend keepe him, make use of him.* Is it possible, that Rome should grieve to lose it's liberty under such a Prince? It afterward found by deare experience what it lost in the change: It was the same flock, but not the same Shepherd.

We may well say *Sejanus* had strangely corrupted the nature of *Tiberius*, making him so severe in the punishment of injuries done to his Predecessours, who tooke so small account of his own, and who often said, that in free Cities tongues should not be restrained. *Augustus* gave him this countell; for upon the point of blaming his dissimulation in the matter of unbridled liberty, used in depraving of him, hee wrote these words:

Subinde ja-
bat in civi-
tate libera
linguam
mentemque
liberis esse
d. ber.
Suet.

words: *Sonne Tiberius*, flatter herein neither your youth, nor anger, to beleeve that any man speaks ill of me: It is enough we can so handle matter, they shall do us no hurt.

As for himselfe, hee slighted the Satyres, and bitter jests were divulged of him; So when hereupon the Senate would give information, he said, *Wee have not so much spare time, as to trouble our selves with these trifles*, and if wee shall open this window, wee need to do nothing else, and you shall be perpetually importuned with an infinite number of particular complaints.

Cordus then having spoken so boldly and elegantly, retired to his house much unresolved what he should do. If he would live, he must beg of *Sejanus*; if die, of his daughter: Both are inexorable. His courage not suffering him to prostrate himself to the one, he resolved to deceive

F 3 the

Satis est si
hoc habe.
mus ne quis
no. is male
facere possit.
sit. D. Aug.

Non id am
bimus
et P. C. me
imp. l. r.
negotiorum
securum: si
hanc fine-
stem spe-
raverim ni-
hil aliud agi
sperem. D.
Tib.

Si vivere
vellet, Se-
janus ro-
gandus s-
rat: si mori,
filia: uterq;
inexorabilis;
constituit
suum falle-
re. Sen.

At the coming out of a bath, they brought to their chambers sweet wine with new laid egges.
Quadam per senectutem ut videtur edisse projecit a cœna, deinde quasi jam satis in cubiculo edisset abstinuit. Sen. Non in non ante septimum diem letalis inedia durasse, & ultra undecimum

the other. And that hee might not discover his purpose, hee for certaine dayes taketh the bath, and the better to beguile his daughter, he afterward withdrawes into his chamber to take his refection, and sending his servants away, throws out of the window some part of that which was brought him, to make them believe it was the remaynder of what hee had eaten. The hour of supper arrived, he telleth his daughter hee had no appetite to eat, that his former collation served him for a supper; shee urgeth him no further, supposing it true, and little imagining the thing she approved for his health, should hasten his death.

Hee continueth this rigorous deceit untill the fourth day, that his owne weaknesse discovered it. Extreme sorrow conspired with his abstinence, which had not otherwise power sufficient

to

to overthrow him in so few days; for hunger will not kill a man in so short a space.

His daughter thus deceived, conjareth him by her prayers and teares, to live both for her and himself. This prayer came too late. His life was now almost wholly wasted, hee is upon the last houre: at which time embracing his daughter, hee said: *Martia, I am too farre onward in the way of death, to retire back; I have gone almost the one halfe of it: you neither ought, nor can withhold me.*

Which spoken, he caused the lights to be put out, that hee might the more quietly hide himself, and creep away in the dark. His servants seeing his resolution so absolute & forward, were no whit sorry, the wolves had failed of their prey. At which time the accusers ran by the commandement of *Sejanus* to the Consuls to tell them that

F 4

Cer-

plerisque certum est. Plin.

The last houre causeth not death, but finisheth it.

Iter mortis ingressus sum, & jam me solum ferre teneo; revocare me, ne debet, ne potest. Sen.

Ex faucibus avidissimorum lupoꝝ educatur præda. Sen.

Magna res erat in questione, an mortis rei perdetur: dum deliberatur, dum accusatores iterum adveniunt, ille se absoluerat. Sen. Scripta auctoris calamitates. D. O. Vir Romanus qui sub oculis jam in vicibus omnium, & ad Sejani iugum ab oculis indomitum, sit homo ingenio, animo, manu liber. Tac. Presenti potentia non extinguitur sequentis cui memoria. Tac.

Cordus had killed himselfe, to wit, had escaped them. This question was then debated, *Whether one might hinder the accused to make themselves away?* but whilst this was disputed to resolve it, & condemne him, he freeth himself.

His Books were burnt by the *Ædiles*, the calamity of the Author, and excellencie of the stile rendred them the more illustrious, and made them sought after, and studied with the more curiositie. *Martia* prelerueth, and presents them to the world to renew the memory of her father, who had written them in his own bloud, had stood firme and invincible when every man else offered his head under the yoke of *Sejanus*, and had with hand, discourse and judgement, maintained ancient liberty. *Princes* deceive themselves when they grow passionate to abolish Books which displease them,

them, prohibition addes desire, and difficulty maketh good the curiosity. If feare suppresseth them during their life, they appeare more confident, when they themselves are no more. The affliction of *Writers* augmenteth the reputation of their labours: punishment is odious; he that inflicteth it, is blamed, and who suffers it, receiveth honour.

And it is well for us this fury against Bookes began not till under *Tiberius*, for what would it have been, if the *Triumvirs* had proscribed or burnt those of *Cicero*? *Caligula* caused the Works of *Cordus* to be revived, and thought himself interested, that posterity might know the lives and gests of his predecessors.

What a contentment is it, to reade the History of so worthy a pen, written with a courage to free, and confident, and in such a manner as hee offered

Punitis ingenii gliscit au' orilas, Tac.

R. P. interest, ut scilicet quæque posteritas sciant. Suet.

it to the Senate, not unlike the scantling which Seneca tooke upon the death of Cicero, in these termes.

Anthony received much satisfaction when Ciceroes head was brought him, and said his proscriptiō was at an end, for hee was not onely gluttēd, but tyred with the massacres of so many men. He commanded it to be exposed to the view of the people in their Rostra, in the same place where they, drawn by the reputation of his excellency, thronged to follow him, and where they had heard his elaborate discourses which saved so many heads. Hee is now at this present beheld by his fellow Citizens, neither in the joy, nor manner as they admired him heretofore (alive & entire) but with blond, which all embred his head, and disfigured his countenance. This head which of late swayed in Senate, and was the ornament of the Roman name,

serves

Non satia-
tus modo
cedendis ci-
vibus sed
defectus.
Sen. P.
Pis concio-
nibus mul-
torum capi-
ta serva-
rat. Sen. P.

Manus dex-
tra eloquē-
tie ministra
Sen. P.

serves as a recompence for him, who dissevered it from his body. All hearts were melted into tears and sighes, when his right hand was beheld (the instrument of his divine eloquence) fastened to this head. The death of others was not bewailed but by particulars: The sorrow for this man was generall. We ought not onely to believe the greatnesse, but admire the infinite number of his vertues. He lived as Brutus Cassius, and Sextus Pompeius, saying: All things displease me, but death alone.

Cordus wrote the history of his time, and perhaps seeing the truth most pure for posterity, had spoken for the honour of those, who died for the defence of ancient liberty; for (verily) the feare of death excuseth not him, who offendeth truth to flatter fortune. To publish lying histories, or give false instructions to those that write them, is to rob passengers on the high way in

Ceterorum
cedes pri-
vatorum
luctus exci-
taverunt,
illa una
communem.
Sen. P.

Optimè me-
moria de po-
stulis ad
quos veniet
interrupta
rum fides
Sen.

good

good earnest. Hee retaining the same liberty in his discourses he had done in his Writings, contemned the pride of *Sejanus*, and to free himselfe from the hands of a man so potent, made it appeare he was reall, and exempt from the number of the miserable.

This Calamity was not so frequent among the Romans when *Germanicus* lived; these two Lions did (as yet) restrain their pawes, feare tempered the actions of *Tiberius*, and necessity with-held the insolence of *Sejanus*. *Dion* saith whilst *Germanicus* lived, *Tiberius* did nothing at any time of his own head. He referred all manner of affaires to the Senate, he ministred justice by the advice of those who assisted him, allowed every one should deliver his opinion, endured contradiction, and sometime suffered to be cut off in his opinions.

He

Dion saith that opinions often passed current against him, hee not therewith offended,

He would not be called Lord, but by slaves, nor Emperour but of Souldiers, he absolutely refused the name of father of the Countrey, he gave way in discourse, and petitions to the title of *Augustus*, used it in the dispatches he made to Kings, and in all occasions else was contented with the name of *Cesar*, and Prince of the Senate: His ordinary wish was, that Heaven would grant him life so long, as the Common-wealth should stand in need of his service.

Whilst *Germanicus* lived, the day of his birth was not solemnized, no man swore by his fortune, no Statue nor Temple was erected to him. When hee went thorow the City, he desired not to be attended either by Senator, Patrician, or Roman Knight, or any man of quality, in all things demeaning himselfe, as if hee lived under a popular government, yea, hee descended even

Tiberius said I am Lord of slaves, Emperour of souldiers, & over the rest a Prince.

All that was done during the life of *Germanicus*, but after his death all was changed.

Ambition
for a long
time
makes it
self little,
to become
great.

The Em-
perour
Augustus to
please *Li-
via* banish-
ed him to
the Ile of
Planasia,
*Veritas vi-
su, & mo-
ra, falsa
festinatione
incertis va-
lescent.*

Tac.

even to the making of funerall
Orations for particular men.

If hee exercised any violence,
it was cloaked and coloured
with semblances of reason, or
necessity, or if it were secret, it
appeared not at all. *Clemens* a
famous Impostor had slaine his
Master *Agrippa Posthumus*, the
grand-child of *Augustus*, and
because he was much of his age,
and stature, hee caused the bruit
therof privately to run as a thing
dangerous, and after ward pub-
likely (as a matter acceptable)
that *Agrippa* was alive: for it
was true, the Mother of the Em-
perour, had made him away pre-
sently after the death of *Augu-
stus*, whose memory was so pre-
cious and venerable, that under
this name hee found friends in
Gallia, succours in Italy, and
credit in Rome, the people pro-
clayming and believing the
Gods had reserved him for the
good of the Empire.

Ti-

Tiberius considering that ru-
mour, and his levity gave coun-
tenance to this fiction, and that
it could not so slenderly be be-
lieved, but it would prejudice
his affaires, commanded him to
be attached by those who fained
to be of his faction. Being
brought before him, hee won-
dered hee so cunningly had man-
aged this imposture, demanding
of him, by what title art thou
made *Agrippa*? The gallant an-
swereth by the same thou hast
made thy self *Cæsar*. Torments
could not evict from him the
names of his complices, and al-
though *Tiberius* knew hee had
been assisted both with money
and counsell by the greatest, hee
enquired no further of them.
But caused him to be put to
death without further noise.

Tiberius then had reason to
account the death of *Germani-
cus* amongst the best days of his
own life, and *Sejanus* reckoned

*Percun-
tanti Ti-
berio quo-
modo A-
grippa sa-
ctus esset,
respondisse
fertur? Quo
modo tu
Cæsar.
Tac.
Inanis cre-
dulus
empire
ipse vane-
scit. Tac.*

ie

Neronem
 & liberis
 Germani-
 ci jam in-
 gressum ju-
 ventam, cō-
 mendaris
 Patribus
 non sine ri-
 su audien-
 tium. Tac.

Congiarium
 pleb. Tac.

it one of the greatest steps to his fortune, but the same malice they bare to the father continued against the children, yet endeavouring all they could possibly to dissemble it, to the end it might seasonably appeare, in the mean time covering it with large demonstrations of affection towards them. *Tiberius* prayeth the Senate to give *Nero* a dispensatiō of age that he might enter into publike Offices, and be able at fifteene yeeres to become *Questor*, which is not granted but at two and twenty. He was also created *Pontifex*, and the day hee entred into this dignity, hee made a donative of provisions to the people, who much rejoyce to behold the children of *Germanicus* in a flourishing state of youth. For full accomplishment of alacrity, hee espouseth *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*.

But she grew disdainfull when
 she

heard the daughter of *Sejanus* was promised to *Drusus* the sonne of *Claudius*; esteeming this noble Family was dishonoured by such an alliance, and that it gave but too much hope to a man, who already had overmuch power, and who accounted himself unhappy if he commanded not, impatient to live as a private person. The heavens unwilling to derive fruit from so bad a tree, disposed therof otherwise. *Drusus* sporting in the City of *Pompey* threw a pear up into the aire, and receiving it againe with open mouth was strangled, and this daughter participating in the disastrous end of her father, made her wedding Song, at the foot of the gallowes, as in his due place shal be seen. The hatred was so enraged against *Sejanus*, that some said hee made this marriage to destroy his sonne in law.

This opinion could have no o-
 ther

*Ut illa se-
 cundis, ita
 hoc adversis
 animis ac-
 ceptum.
 Tac.*

Jason the
 Tyrant
 of *Phe-
 rez* said
 hee died
 for hun-
 ger, if hee
 arrived
 not at Ty-
 ranny, for
 hee could
 not live a
 foole, that
 is to say a
 private
 man.

Miror fuisse qui traherent à Sejano necesse.
Suet.

Vaine is the prayse which comes not from a prayse worthy man.
Secreta viri corrupta uxore produntur.
Tac.

ther foundation, but that this young Prince discovered too much contempt of this Alliance, or too much scorn to be the Son in law of a man so odious, who had no honour in him; his Ancestors or himselfe, having acquired nothing, hee could leave nought to his children, and received praise but only from those, whom hee himselfe durst not commend.

Drusus could not brooke this insolence, nor that his father *Tiberius* should preferre Counsell and forrain affections before naturall. Hee spared not to say to his wife, who betrayed him, and to his friends, who deceived him, that *Sejanus* was almost become a Colleague, as he hath hitherto been a Coadjutor of *Tiberius*, and his children the Allies of *Drusus*: That his ambition hath deepe aymes, that hee will not rest there: For, *The first hopes of predominance are diffi-*

difficult, but when one is arrived thither, meanes to maintaine it will never be wanting. He often spake this, and unto many, they were his ordinary complaints. *A minde perplexed ceaseth not to expostulate, and ever layes the hand upon the wound.*

He conceived an extreme hatred against *Sejanus*: He was so ready to strike, that they turnamed him *Castor*, and not being able any longer to endure this man, who made himselfe his companion, hee lifted up his hand with threats, and the other disposing himselfe to defence, whereupon *Drusus* stricke him on the cheek. *Dion* and *Zonaras* write, that *Sejanus* smote *Drusus*, but there is no apparance, he used this hardinesse against the sonne of the Emperour, young, couragious, associated to the Empire, and holding the Tribunitiall power, the greatest next the Sovereigne.

Prima dominandi spes arduo, ubi sis ingressus adunt studia, & ministerii. Tac.

Surnames are given according to natures, for which cause *Dion* saith, *Drusus* was surnamed *Castor*, and keene swords were called *Drusians*. *Tribunitia potestas summi fastigii vocabatur.* Tac.

A blow should be answered with a poynard, but strokes which come from the hand of a Prince ought to be received with patience and humility. Hee that can kill, obligeth when he only woundeth. This disgust so fresh reneweth those, which by proceſſe of time were (as I may ſay) withered in the ſoule of Sejanus. Yet the History relateth not hee made any complaint, or that Tiberius reproved his ſonne, ſo to have injured him whom he had ſelectd above all, for aſſiſtance to ſupport the principall burthens of Empire: For it is ever an ill way to ſeek out occaſions, which may irritate the Emperour againſt the Prince.

Not daring to complain, hee reſolved to be revenged, and as revenge is ever witty, to lay hold of the means how to ſatiſſie the offended, hee could finde no fitter wedge to cleave this knot, but to make it of the ſame wood,
and

Tiberius
Sejanum
ſingularem
principaliſſi
onem ad
jutores in
omnia ha-
buit. Vell.

and gain the wife to ruine the husband. She was faire, but her beauty accorded not well with her honour. Shee conſenteth to the earneſt ſollicitations of Sejanus, to whom none denied any thing, becauſe Tiberius gave him all. Familiarity drew on affection, that which at firſt was nought elſe but love, becomes adultery, and adultery witchcraft. A moſt ſtrange blindneſſe: The Niece of *Augustus*, daughter in law of *Tiberius*, daughter of *Drusus*, ſiſter of *Germanicus*, wife of the Emperours ſonne, mother of two Princes, in poſſibility of Empire, blemiſheth her honour, diſgraceth her houſe, to conſent to the luſts of an ordinary Citizen. But glorious beauties will be admired, and powerfull favours ſought unto. Sejanus could doe all by his favour, *Livia* was beloved of all for her beauty. To aſke why that which is beautifull is affected, Is the
question

*Rara eſt
concordia
forme, atq;
pudicitie.
Juven.*

*Se, ac ma-
jores, & po-
ſteros mu-
nicipali
adultero
ſuſcebat.
Tac.*

Vpon the demand made unto *Aristotle*, why wee love that which is faire, hee answered, It is a blinde mans question. *Fæmina a. missi pudicitia, alia flagitia non abnuat.*
Tac.

The fort which parleyes, is halfe rendered.

question of a blinde man: but it is to have eyes no where but in the head, to wish great men may not do what they please.

Having then the body at his dispose, he managed the heart as hee list: The first crime made way for all the rest. *When a woman hath forsaken her chastitie, shee hath nothing left either to lose, or deny.* Love made her an adulteresse, Ambition a murderesse, and the passage is confident from the one to the other. *Sejanus* infuseth into her minde a desire to become the Emperours wife, she believes he is able to make good what he sayes; for *Tiberius* reigned not, but in his person, and at his pleasure. Shee heareth, and tasteth it, and the delight she sheweth therein by her attention, is not farre distant from her consent. Their likings concurring for love, unite for marriage, and for that purpose they conspire to dissolve all obstacles:

stacles: *Sejanus*, by the divorce of *Apicata*, and *Livia* by the death of *Drusus*.

But as *Great mischiefs cannot so quickly be hatched* (for feare draweth on irresolution, affrightment invites slacknesse, and distance of time augmenteth difficulties) they had not so much trouble to resolve on the act, as to find out the means, and manner. Order, and secrecie, which ought to be exactly observed in matters important were not omitted in this wicked plot. They resolved to poyson him: and weighing with themselves, if the poyson were given in his meat, some others (perhaps) might be surprized, and deceived therewith, they advised to give it in some medicine which he was to take, and that it should have so slow operation, that death would be imputed to nature, or accident, and not to treason, and violence.

Livia

Magnitudo facinoris metum, prolaris, interdum diversa consilia adfert.
Tac.

Eudemus
amicus, ac
medicus
Liviae, spe-
cis artis
frequens se-
cretis. Tac.
Adulteria
etiam in
principum
domibus, ut
Eudemi in
Liviae
Drusi Cae-
sar. Plin.
Rumor Se-
janum
Lygdi spe-
donis ani-
mam stupro
visse.

Jupiter
saith to
Promethe-
us, he de-
served to
have his
heart, and
liver de-
voured.

Livia therein employed *Eudemus* her Physician, who for his qualitie, and by the favour of his profession, had ordinary access to her Cabinet. *Tacitus* saith hee was her friend, *Pliny* her Adulterer. *Sejanus* gaineth *Lygdamus* the Eunuch, one of the chiefest & most trusty household servants of *Drusus*, and to tie his heart more straightly to him, villanously abuseth his body, hee being both young, and handsome. The wretches conspire in this execrable attempt: the murderous *Sejanus* plotteth it, *Livia* the Adulteresse gives consent, *Eudemus* the Russian compoundeth the drug, & *Lygdamus* the Catamite presenteth it. Foure creatures, who deserve their hearts which formed, and conceived this prodigious assassinate on the sole sonne of the Prince, should everlastingly be devoured by gnawing Vultures. They all miserably perished, and

fo

so may all those Furies, who trayterously attempt on Princes.

Drusus, without distrust, takes this deadly poyson from the hand of *Lygdamus* his Eunuch, and that which hee thought would have confirmed health, hastens death: but so slowly that the languishment, and length took away the suspicion of poyson. Time, which in the end discovereth all things, drew truth out of darknesse, and *Apicata* the wife of *Sejanus*, eight yeares after gave the first notice. It is an admirable thing, that a woman of a great spirit wounded in her honour, and banished from the company of her husband by an Adulteresse, could so long be silent, but this discourse shall not be ended, till this wonder be satisfied.

The actions of *Sejanus* were so exploded, and *Tiberius* for favouring him so hated, that alrea-

G

dy

Ordo scele-
us per Api-
catam Se-
jano predi-
tus tormen-
tis Eudemi, ac Lyg-
di patet. Tac.

Sejanus
facinorum
omnium re-
reperitor
babeatur
ex nimia
obritate in-
cum Cæ-
sar's, Tac.
Druso ig-
naro, & ju-
veniliter
hauriente
periculum;
cunctis su-
spicio tan-
quam me-
tu, & pudore
sibi met
arrogaret
mortem,
quam patri
finxerat.

Tac.
Hee who
made as-
say was
called in
ancient in-
scriptions
Apostione,
or Prægu-
rator, by

dy being branded with so re-
markable, and notorious villa-
nies, it was thought he had put
Drusus to death by the hand of
Tiberius, suggesting that his Son
out of desire to rule, had resol-
ved on his death, and that it
were fit he took heed, when hee
dined at his table, not to drinke
the first draught, which should
be presented unto him: that *Ti-
berius* taking the cup from the
Tasters hand, offered it to *Dru-
sus*, and that shame and feare
not suffering him to refuse it, he
swallowed downe the poyson
prepared for his Father: An im-
posture without apparance, or
foundation.

This impious act could not so
easily have been perpetrated by
Drusus, for the Father tasted no-
thing without assay, which cu-
stome was brought from the
Persian Court, into the Palaces
of the Roman Emperours since
Augustus his time. Make *Tibe-*

rins

rins as cruell as you wil, yet can-
not the honour of a wise, cun-
ning, and wary Prince be taken
from him, and well hee might
have been condemned of much
imprudence, if he had plotted to
make his sonne away, by the
meer advice of *Sejanus*, and be-
fore hee were exactly informed
of the cause, and confederates of
this conspiracy.

This onely proceedeth from
the malignity of rumours, little
favorable to the actions of Prin-
ces. All which *Tiberius* hath
done, is curiously collected, and
published; but never hath there
beene creature so transported
with hatred and passion, to dis-
honour his memory, as to re-
proach him with Parricide. Wee
ought not to receive all which
bruis approveth, without suspiti-
on, nor to preferre things incredi-
ble, (although divulged, and
greedily entertained) before real
truth, though oft times disguised.

G 2 with

Xenophō,
Oinoche-
os. Tac.

Atrocior
semper fa-
ma erga de-
minantium
exitus.
Tac.

Divulgata
aque in-
credibilia
avidè ac-
cepta, non
sunt ante-
biberda
veris, neque
in miracu-
lum corrup-
tis. Tac.

with apparant semblances, and frivolous wonders, to impresse amazement on minde.

Amulatio habitum ac voces dolentium induit. Tac.

A segestatorum morosis Dion. Scelus, & nullis voluptatibus avocatus, mestam vigilantiam & malas curas exercebat. Tac.

This death once againe restored the hope of succession to the children of *Germanicus*; and though the Senate for their love to *Tiberius*, deplored this accident, yet were their teares fained, and passion without sorrow. There was not a man but was well pleased to see, that by this death the house of *Augustus* began to re flourish. *Drusus* likewise was not beloved, but for the inveterate hatred they bare to his Father; for hee was much debauched, and as the vice of another displeaseth even the vitious, his Father oft chid him for these insolent, and haughty humours, which made him to be most quarrelsome, and cruell. But the people excused all that, saying, It were better hee should passe the night in feasts, the day in Theaters, than to languish in the

the melancholy of solitude, penfive vigils, & pernicious amusements.

Presently the teares of *Tiberius* being dried up, hee went to the Senate to seek out consolation in affairs, and seeing the Senators sit low, he caused them to ascend, putting them in mind of the reverence of the place, and the dignity of their charges, and used his speech to raise up their spirits, which sorrow had dejected.

Sirs, I may perhaps be condemned, that in so fresh a sorrow, I here am present, and well I wot, that those who are in grief brook not day light, nor condescend of their friends most neer: But as I ascribe not this to weaknesse of heart, so I desire to let you know, that I have not sought out a greater ease in mine affliction, than the embraces of the Common-wealth.

He also said, that the decrepit

G 3 age

Negotia pro solatiis. The Consuls sate on their Sella curules, & the Senators low, and after them the Praetors, and Tribunes. The custome of mourning was, not to stirre out of the house. nor behold day light. Vix aies à plerisque lugentium aspiciunt. Tac.

Germani-
ci liberi u-
nica præ-
sentium
malorum
levamenta.
Tac.

Egressi con-
suos firma-
ros eloquio
adoleſcen-
tibus, dedu-
ctosque an-
te Cæsare
ſtatuunt.
Tac.

age of the Empreſſe, took from him the hope of her aſſiſtance, that his grand-children were in their minority, that hee already had paſſed more than the moiety of the courſe of his life, that hee prayed them the children of *Germanicus* might be admitted, the only remedy, and conſolation of the evils which at this time afflicted him. *Nero* and *Drusus* were ſent for: The Conſuls went out of the Senate houſe to receive them, and after ſome words ſpoken to encourage them, they were conducted to the Emperour, who taking them by the hand ſaid.

(*Sirs*) when theſe children loſt their father, I committed them to the charge of *Drusus* my ſonne, and their Couſin, & prayed him, although he had children, to take as much care of them, as of his own proper bloud, educate & preſerve them for himſelfe, and poſterity: But now that *Drusus*

is

is taken from them, I addreſſe my prayers to you, and conjure you before the Gods, and our Countrey, that undergoing the performance of my obligation, and yours, you take upon you the breeding, and care of the Nephews of *Augustus*, deſcended from eminent, and illuſtrious Perſonages.

Afterward caſting his eyes on the young Princes, hee ſayes to them.

(*Nero my darling, and you Drusus*) theſe Lords, whom you here behold, are your Fathers: The condition of your birth is ſuch, that the State hath much intereſt in the good, or evill you ſhall do.

The Senate answered not, but with teares, vowes, and prayers, and this diſcourſe of *Tiberius* had ſerved for his honour, had hee not therunto added the ſame promiſes, which ſo often were exploded heretofore, and which much it

G 4

would

Ita nati e-
ſtis, ut bona
miſaque
veſtra ad
Remp. Tac.
In theſe
occasions
they had
words
proper, of
joy, and
deſire, a-
mong the
Grecians
*Agathe-
tuche*, and
the La-
tines.
*Q. et fau-
ſtum filia-
que ſit.*

would have troubled him to keep.

I protest unto you (Fathers Conscript) (saith hee) I have no other ambition, but to restore Rome to her ancient liberty, and leave the government, either to the Consuls, or some other. These last words were so farre from the intention of him who spake them, and the belief of his auditory, that they took from the first, all the estimation which truth, and honesty might give them.

All that was nought but meer deceit: This evill Prince thought of nothing but the utter extirpation of *Germanicus* his Family, which the death of *Drusus* brought into grace. The funerals were prepared in the same equipage, as those of *Germanicus*, and therunto many other magnificences were added; For the last adulation is ever most costly. *Tiberius* made the funegall Oration,

Vana, & irrita, vero, & beneflo fidem adi-munt.
Tac.

Addit semper aliquid posterior adulation.
Tac.

tion, as *Augustus* had done for *Aerippa* his sonne in law.

There was placed a vail between him and the dead body, to the end he might not behold the corps: for the Office of the *Pontifex* being sacred, it was not lawfull for him to looke on any thing, dead. The Statues likewise of the Gods were veiled, or transferred from places, where punishments were inflicted: Yea *Claudius* caused, that, of *Augustus* to be taken from the Theater of the Gladiators, that it might not ever be present at murther, or be alwayes scarfed. Every one bewailed him, who wept not himself: For an object so sad, and apprehensible as this, could not bend his gravity, beholding without passion in himselfe, how sensible his losse was to others, whilst he would make it appear, he had no sense at all.

Sejanus standing by his side
G 5 ad.

So *Philo* saith, that the high Priest of the Jews for that his soule was ever pure saw nothing direfull. *Flente populo nim flexit volunt.* Sen.

*Sejano ad
latius stanti
experien-
dum se de-
dit quam
patienter
posset suos
perdere.
Sen.*

admired his constancy, but made no profit thereof: For this act taught him of what temper his heart was, since he so patiently bare the losse of one so beloved. Could hee think, that a Prince who had so little resentment in the death of a sonne, would care for the losse of his servants. Hee must learn to be more subtile to know the humour of his Master, who made use of him, as of a felt, cloke, or gaberdine during the storme; to cast it off when it cealed. *Sejanus* thought on nothing, but the ruine of *Germanicus* his house, and when that were done *Tiberius* would ruine him, for then hee should have no further need of him. He dealt presently as with a good horse, when the rider tees him of gentle mannage, hee makes much of him, and lets him go at pleasure where he list, but in the end Masters him.

It was not only violence
which

which guided this excessive power of *Sejanus*, but avarice also bare a part, making him believe all hee possessed not, was wholly lost. *Dion* saith, hee was heir of all those, who died without children, This exorbitant covetousnesse caused the death of *Lepida* a noble Roman Lady, and *Suetonius* saying, that *Tiberius* made *Lentulus* the Augur die with grief, to the end he might have no other heire than himself, addeth the processe framed against *Lepida*, was only to gratifie *Quirinus* her husband, who was rich, and without issue.

The proceeding related by *Tacitus* is very strange, it was full twenty yeers shee had lived from her husband, when hee accused her of adultery, poyson, & a supposititious child. *Tiberius* affirmed shee had consulted with Chaldeans concerning his issue and person. He would not suffer

Drus-

*Quicquid
non acqui-
ritur, dam-
num est.
Sen.*

*In gratiam
Quirini
consularis
pædixit,
& orbi,
Tacit.*

*Exemit
Drus. in
diuenda
primo loco
Sententia,
ne ceteris
assentiendi
necessitas
feret. Tacit.*

Drusus to deliver his opinion (first) in judgement, that hee might leave the opinions free, and not oblige them to follow his.

There were sports exercised during this processe, *Lepida* went thither with many great and eminent Ladies of the City, and enjoying the priviledge of Romans, who never were imprisoned during their accusation, nor after judgement, unlesse the offence were capitall, as she entred into *Pompeys* Theater, she turned her eyes on the Statues which stood there in many places, and implored aid of him from whom she was descended. This was done with much exclamation, and abundance of teares, that it moved the people, but especially the women, to pity her, and to cry out against *Quirinus*, calling him wicked creature, for that hee so inhumanely had used a wife who ha-

ving

Aemilian
Marcel.
puts *Pompeys* Theater, inter
decora urbis
aeternae.

Adstantes
effusi in lacrimas,
saeuae, &
detestanda
Quirino
amitant.
Tac.

ving been promised to *Lucius Caesar* the sonne of *Augustus*, had by this Marriage much honoured him, as if they would have said, that by reason he was old, and without children, and besides of mean condition, his wife should doe well to make him weare the horn.

The processe comming to triall, verdicts propended to the commiseration of a woman extracted from noble blood, sequestred twenty yeares from her husband, and where the accusations were only prooved by slaves: But *Rubellius Blandus* concludes for banishment, *Drusus* was of his opinion, and hee drew those to him, who stood not so much for rigour. The Prince ought not to deliver his opinion first, nor last, it is for him to conclude, and decree, *Piso* confidently said the same to *Tiberius* in the beginning of his Empire. In what rank (*O Caesar*)

Lepida cui
super E-
miliorum
decus L.
Silla, ac
Cn. Pompejus pro-
vicerant.
Tac.

Adfensit
Drusus,
quamvis a-
lii mitiores,
censuissent.
Tac.
Quo loco
censibus
Caesar ?
si primus,
habebo
quod se-
quar, si post
omnes vera-
or ne im-
prudens
dissentiam.
Tac.

last, would you deliver your opinion? in the first, I were bound to follow you; in the last, our opinions may happen to differ; and so I might commit a fault against my will.

Dion observeth another mean, to get the inheritance of a rich man. *Sextus Marius* had a daughter young and beautifull, *Tiberius* affecteth her, the father removes her to a country house. To inforce their return, they are accused of incest. The daughter sayes to the Father: *Let us not afford them the content to dispose of us at their pleasure, nor so far to prevaile, as to hinder us from dying honestly. I have not used to pray to any, but the Gods; and to Sejanus I will never be beholding for my life, upon the price of that, which is more dear to me, than a thousand lives.* *Marius* ashamed to see his courage stand in need of his daughters example, slue himselfe first, and shee after did the like.

This

Hee lives too long, who survives his own honour.

This death much benefited *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*: For they were the heirs of *Marius*, a man so rich, that being offended with a neighbour of his, hee invited him to his house, made him good cheer for two dayes together. On the first hee pulled down his house, on the second he re-edified it again more faire and large. The owner thereof returning on the third day, was amazed at this alteration; *Marius* said to him, I have done the one as thy enemy to be revenged on thee, and the other as thy friend, for the good I wish thee.

There was then no safety in Rome, but for Informers, a pernicious sort of people, whom disorder had put into credit, to ruine and overthrow all, and who were so countenanced, that their calumny was not only unpunished, but recompenced. The more implacable, and stiffe they were

The same had which doth the injury maketh amends.

Delatores genus hominum publico exitio reperiuntur, & paucis quidem nunquam satis coercitum, per premia eliciebantur.
Tac.

*Ut quis di-
strictior ac-
cusator ve-
lut sacro
sanctus e-
rat, leues
ignobiles
pœnis effi-
ciantur.
Tac.*

*Miserarū,
ac scitiae
exemplum
atrox, reus
pater, accu-
sator filius.
Tac.*

were to mayntaine a falshood, and out-brave truth, the more they were rewarded, nor was it a lesse offence to displease them, thā things holy & sacred. Others who would not belie their own consciences, nor deliver their opinion contray to truth, were despised and punished.

Vibius Sereuus proconsull of the lower Spain, was accused by his own sonne to have conspired against the Emperour, and to have sent men into Gallia to incite, and stirre up the people. He appeareth in the nasty, and durty frock of his voyage, (for he was now freshly returned from banishment) and though hee saw his life in imminent perill, yet had he a firme countenance before the Iudges, and with an eye of indignation and menace beheld his sonne jocund and merry. Stamping with his feete up and downe for anger, and making a noyse with

with

with his chains (for hee was brought thither by the souldiers that guarded him) hee lifted his hands to heaven, prayed the Gods to send him backe to the place from whence he came, and to punish the ingratitude, and impiety of his sonne. Nature so unworthily outraged, prompted him these imprecations not suffering hee should shew himselfe as a father, to this wicked villain, who had revolted from the duty of a sonne. *A father should content himselfe with a light punishment, for a heavy fault:* but this disloyalty was so prodigious, that it drew from his heart this prayer to the Gods for his chastisement: whersoever monsters are found they are strangled, without consideration of whence they are: Birds are fed, which come from Forests, and Scorpions killed which are bred in the house.

This countenance so confident

Howloere the matter go with the sonne: the father should dispoil himself of the office of a father, to play the part of a Judge.

Pro peccato magno paululum supplicii satis est patri. In suis ortas aviculas pascitis, & domi nato: Scorpiones occiditis. Petr.

*Exequi
accusatio-
nem adigi-
tur. Tac.*

*Haud in-
tum contu-
macius loqui
apud aures
superbas, et
offensioni
promiores.
Tac.*

*Dandus
vite usus,
cui vita
conceditur.
Tac.*

dent impressed in the minds of the Iudges an opinion of the innocency of the father, and made the wickednesse of the sonne appeare, who was so terrified with remorse of conscience, and murmur of people threatening him prison, stoning to death, and the punishment of parricidea, that he fled to Ravenna, from whence *Tiberius* recalled him, enforcing him to pursue his accusation, for he by all meanes desired to be rid of *Serenus*, having upon his stomacke the distast of a letter which he had written eight yeares before, in termes more arrogant than eares, proud, and curious to resent offences, could suffer. The Senators gave their opinions hereupon. *Gallus Asinius* advised he should be banished to the Ilands of Gyara, or Donusa: which *Tiberius* disliked, because there was no water either in the one, or other, saying, it was but reason, to give those men

men meanes of life, who were suffered to live. Cruell pittie! He was willing the commodities of life should serve for the continuance, and entertainment of the miseries of affliction.

It was permitted to the most wickied to accuse the most honest, to revile them with injuries, and give affronts: Masters durst not threaten servants either with word or finger. There was no exorbitancy, which was not dissembled for those, who could shelter themselves under *Casars* Image. The same liberty which encouraged the eriminall, gave also confidence and occasion to commit the crime. This great reverence done to *Tiberius*, was shewed in other places as well as Rome, his statues being had in as much veneration, as Olympicke *Iupiter*: in such sort that a master was condemned of impiety, because he had stricken his servant, bearing a piece of coyn insculped with

Religion gave to the Temples of the Gods liberty, and flattery to the statutes of Princes. The custome was thereof in in Rome from the time of *Iulius Caesar*. *Capitale circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse.*

with the image of *Cæsar*.

Annia Rufillia had been falsely condemned by the Senate at the suit of *Cestius*. She vexed thereat, expected him at the Palace gate, neere unto *Tiberius* statue, from whence as a place of malediction, she thundred against him all manner of calumnies, which are the weapons of weak spirits. *Cestius* durst not demand reparation, because she had reproched him through favour, and neere the statue of *Tiberius*. He made complaint, and spake in full Senate these memorable words.

Princes possesse the place of Gods, but the Gods heare none, but just prayers of suppliants. There is not any one hath recourse to the Capitoll, or the other Temples of the Citie, as to a Sanctuary to commit an outrage: but thy Lawes are abolished, and turned up-side downe, since in a publicke place, at the entrance of the Palace we are

enfor-

The place where *Tiberius* cursed the Athenians in the Burg of *Gargettus*, was called *Araterion*, the place of malediction. *Plut. Principes in sacra deorum sunt, sed neque a diis, nisi iusta supplicum preces audiuntur.* Tac.

enforced to suffer wrongs, to heare menaces without hope of justice, for respect given to the Emperors *stare*.

Had the History said nothing else, to represent the state of the miserable reigne of *Tiberius*, this would be enough to manifest violence and disorder, and who understandeth the carriage of *Sejanus*, cannot be ignorant, how the State was governed. Pitifull then was the condition of a Roman Citizen, it was dangerous to speake, or to be silent, onely thoughts passed without mulct, or perill, so that the countenance made not appeare, either joy for *Agrippina*, or malice against *Sejanus*. This absolute power which he had over the wealth of the Romans, made some say, it were good to dwell in Rome, and have their estate out of the extent of the Roman Empire.

Vacia, a wealthy man, and who had beene Pretor, retired to

*Non licet
sua experiri
ob effigiem
Imperatoris
oppositam.*
Tac.

*Crimen ex
silentio, ex
vice.* Tac.

*Vacia nulla
re alia
quam otio
notus con-
sensit, et
ob hoc unum
salix habebatur.* Sen.

to his Country house, finding no freedome against violence, but solitude. It was a difficult matter for men of these times, to make any resolution; for it was supposed, who did so of his owne accord, was so farre alienated from nature: that he stood exalted above it with the Gods, or was cast under it among brut beasts. As often as the friendship of *A. sinius Gallus*, a kinsman of *A. grippina's*, or the malice of *Sejanus* had ruined any, the men of this age cryed loudly out, *O Vacia*, there is none but thou, who knowes how to live.

The solitary life was the most secure, the civill most perilous, and the rusticke most acceptable; so is it likewise the mistresse of frugality, diligence, integrity, and simplicity. It was not attended with so much honour, nor gave such contentment as heretofore, when the great Captains went from Triumph to the Carr, from

*O Vacia,
solus scis
vivere.
Sen.
Vita rusti-
ca parsimo-
nia, justit-
ia, ac dili-
gentia ma-
gistra. Cic.*

from Tillage to Armes, and from Harvest to the Senate. The earth in those times tooke delight to yeeld fruits in abundance, and acknowledge the labour of those victorious hands, which tilled her with a Coulter, crowned with Lawrell.

Sejanus, this torrent of pride and insolency, overflowed all: There was not a creature stayed him, all he encountered were utterly ruined. *Tiberius* was blamed for submitting the fortune of the Empire to the discretion of one sole man, and his will to the power of his servant.

Ambition is oft times purblind, when it should be clearesighted, and thinking to walke the right way, wanders: It ruin'd *Sejanus*, and caused his designs to succeed otherwise than he hoped. He promised himselfe that *Germanicus* being dead, nothing could hinder him but *Drusus*, he poysoneth him, and behold,

*Attilius man-
nus rustico
opere attri-
ta salutem
publicam
stabilierunt
Val.
Gaudebat
tellus vo-
mere laura-
tis. Plin.*

It is not safe to commit so many, and so great charges, to the fortune of one. *Par de Fab.* Evill enterprises succeed against the undertakers.

hold the succession (doubtlesse) stands for *Germanicus* his children. It is necessary for establishment of his tyranny, that he overthrow it, which he undertakes, and that the more boldly, because his precedent outrages succeeded so prosperously, that the father neglecteth to revenge the death of his sonne.

He makes him believe his enemies will derive profit from this losse, that *Agrippina* is resolved to reigne. He needeth no great art to perswade him; for he saw the succession open, and this woman thorowly resolved to bite the apple. He is determined to cause the mother and her children to perish, *Sejanus* herein findes himselfe much perplexed: For to thinke to corrupt *Agrippina*, as he had done *Livia*, there was no likelihood, she being of a chastity invincible, and impenetrable: to give poyson unto three at once was impossible; and

*Ferox scelerum, quia prima pro-
wenerant.
Tac.*

*Non dubia
Germanici
liberorum
successio.
Tac.*

*Spargi venenum in
tres non
poterat,
egregia cu-
stodum fide,
& pudicitia
Agrippina
impenetrabi-
li. Tac.*

severally, difficult; so great was the fidelity, and vigilance of their servants.

Besides, this Lady could not be treated withall, as other women: All the City was for her, the most confident and shamelesse calumny durst not seize on her, she walked firmly between the jealousie of *Tiberius*, and ambition of *Sejanus*, who found no shorter way to ruine her, than to animate the Emperour against her, by causing him to observe her courage, and her hopes.

He lost no time herein, but in a short space met with a fit occasion, to make his wicked designe breake into action. In the beginning of the yeare, they used to sacrifice to *Iupiter* an Oxe with gilded hornes. for the *Safety of the Prince*, (which is the weale of the State:) The Pontiffes, and other Priests, by their example recommended to the same Gods, *Nero* and *Drusus*, sonnes

H

of

*Solemnia
vota pro
incolumita-
te tuâ, quâ
salus publi-
ca continet-
ur, & sus-
cipimus, &
solvimus.
Plin.*

*Adulatio
moribus
corruptis
perinde ac-
cepti, si nul-
la, & ubi
nimia est.
Tac.*

*Primores
modice per-
stringendi
Tac.*

*Mobiles a-
dolefcenti-
um animi,
prematuris
honori. us
ad superbi-
am non ex-
tollendi.
Tac.*

of *Germanicus*, not so much for the love of them, as to please *Tiberius*, thereby to let him know how much they desired to perpetuate the Empire in his house. Good manners were so much forgotten, that it was not more dangerous to flatter too much, than not at all.

Tiberius was perplexed to see their youth hold way with his age, for which cause he asked the Pontiffes, whether they had done it at the instant entreaties, or threats of *Agrippina*, and they answering no, he rebuked them, but temperately; for they were for the most part, either Allies of *Agrippina*, or of the prime men of the Citie. He hastens presently to the Senate on this occasion, frames a large discourse, to shew them that henceforward, *The mindes of weake and mutable young men should not be thrust into pride, by honours immaturely conferred up on them.*

Yea,

Yea, *Sejanus* made more noise hereupon than *Tiberius*, saying; All would run to ruine, since no more difference was made betweene the Prince, and his kinsmen; That the Citie of Rome would fall into division, as in the civill broyles, when it had three Lords, *Cesar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*; That the authoritie of the Emperour would bee the least; That the desire of ancient liberty was awakened; That the faction of *Agrippina* would be set up, which not resisted, their number would bee the greater; That no other remedy could be found for the discord which began to advance, and multiply, but by causing one or two of them presently to be put to death.

He threatned only two, and aimed at many, but he supposed, that these two (*Silius* & *T. Sabinus*) should fall from so high an eminence, that all the rest would

H 2

be

*Facta tribus
dominis
consuetudinis
Roma Lu-
can.*

*Nullum ali-
ud gliscens
discordie
remedium,
si unus al-
terut maxi-
me prompti
sed man-
tur. Tac.*

*Amicitia
Germani-
ci pernit o-
stendit. Tac.*

*Turpe alijs
gratificari
per dedecus
proprium.
Tac.*

*Proprium
Tiberio scilicet
super
repret a prae-
cis et his
obtegere.
Tac.*

be warned by their ruine. Their noble affection to the house of *Germanicus*, had in no degree degenerated from the nature of true friendship, although it were not only barren, but unfortunate to them. *Varro* the Consul wickedly accommodating his conscience, and honour to the passion of *Sejanus* accuseth *Caius Silius*, and *Sofia Galla* his Wife, *T. Sabinus* was reserved for another time, and although they made it appear this pursuit was violent, and that *Varro* ought to stay till he were out of his Consulship, yet proesse was framed as in case of treason, though they were accused for nothing but to have converted the moneyes of the common wealth to their owne use, and of which summes no man required restitution: But *Tiberius* was so wary, that he gave the titles of most odious crimes to the slightest faults. *Silius* seeing that, makes no defence,

fence, and when he speakes, it is but to shew the pursuit is too potent: but foreseeing it was not in his power to save himselfe, his courage counselleth him to prevent a necessary death by a voluntary. *Sofia* was sent into banishment.

His imprudence, and vanity hastned his ruine, for he forbore not to boast that *Tiberius* was bound to him for the Empire, & that if the Legions which hee commanded in Germany had revolted as the rest, hee had not long held out. This reproach touched the soule of *Tiberius* to the quick; For it destroyed his fortune, gave him no share in the prosperous success of affaires, & made it knowne it was not in his power to free himselfe from this obligation. When the service is so great that it cannot cōdignely be rewarded, Princes account it not only as nothing, but as an offence, hatred possessing the place

*Imminens
damatio
voluntario
sine preve-
nitur. Tac.*

*Clitus was
undone
for saying
Alexander
was Ma-
ster over
the lives
of the Ma-
cedonians.
Plut.*

*Beneficia
eiusq; lata
sunt dum
videntur
solvi posse,
ubi multum
antivenē-
re, pro gra-
tia odium
redditur.
Tac.*

of recompence, and disgrace of thanks.

It is a safer way to be obliged to a Master, than to oblige, and the service which cannot bee recompenced, makes the servant troublesome.

In the midst of all this *Sejanus* sets himselfe so farre removed from his hopes, that hee redoubleth his speed to arrive thither, and by a blind inprudence gives notice thereof to *Tiberius*. It is true he was forced thereunto by the ordinary exclamations of *Livia*, who ceaseth not to challenge him of his promise to legitimate their loves, and to change the title of a Mistresse, into, that, of a wife. *Sejanus* gives her words for effects, she growes angry, hee appeaseth her, shee weepes, he flatters, and although reason tels her, as Nurses doe children, *Cry not, and you shall have it*; yet patience is forgotten, her heart is like a mine which

Reason should say to choler, what the nurse doth to the child, cry not, and you shall have it.
Plut.

which breaketh with so much the more ruine, and noise, as it is restrained and inforced. He suffers himselfe to bee transported by the ambition of this woman, who thought to marry the title of *Augusta* with this husband, and so hee to please her discovereth her purpose to the Emperour, entreating him to give way to this marriage. He pre- senteth his suit, and although he infinitely favoured, brake not the custome to treat with the Prince by writing.

Cesar paused, to the ende hee might have time to consider of that which was demanded, and what he should answer, and to make the expedition of affaires more easie: for the affluence of them was so great, and the City of such extent, that it was impossible to satisfie all in an instant. *Augustus* wrote all his answers, that hee might speake neither more nor lesse, than what he had

H 4

pre-

Sejanus
nimiam for-
tunam secors,
& muliebri
cupidine in-
censo. Tac.

Servantes
è libello
habuit, ne
plus minus-
ve loqueretur. Suet.

*Qui timide
rogat, ne-
gare docet.*

premeditated. The subject of his request being bold, he presented it with much presumption: *A* *fearfull suppliant is the more confidently denied: to beg softly and negligently is to doubt eyther of the merit of your request, or the power of him whom you petition.* He useth a complement of gratitude, and acknowledgement, for this good Courtier never began by way of supplication, and he thereunto addeth a pernicious flattery, protesting he taketh this course, to treat of his affaires, rather with his Masters than the Gods. It was delivered in these termes.

Sejanus his speech.

*Spes & vota non prius
ad principum aures,
quam ad
Deos. Tac.*

THe good which Augustus hath wished me, and that you have done for me in many occasions (O Cæsar) oblige me, not, to adresse my hopes to the cares of the Gods, before I first offer them to yours, which

which importeth thus much as to tell you, though I never sought the eminent splendor of honours, and that my ambition hath wholly beene to watch, and toyle, even as the meanest gregarian souldier for your safeguard and weale; yet I notwithstanding enjoy this comfort (which I value above all the rest) to have been repared not unworthy the alliance of Cæsars, by marriage of my daughter with the sonne of Claudius. This is the foundation of my hope, and forasmuch as I have heard, Augustus purposing to marry his daughter, had an intention to make choyce of a Roman Knight, I humbly intreat, if you seeke out one for Livia the widdow of your sonne, you would be pleased to remeber him, whom you ever have loved, and who therein hath no other aime, but the honour of your alliance, & not to leave these offices wherewith you have dignified him. It sufficeth me my kause may have a

H 5

sup-

Qui excubias & labores ut unus militum pro incolomitate principis mavit, laudat, nunquam bonorum fatigatorem periturus Tac.

Augustus in colloquendo si a se non aliquid de cunctibus Romanis consultavit. Tac.

*Salus vixit,
qui vitam
cum principi
pe exple-
vit. Tac.*

support against the malice of Agrippina, besides what I doe meerely for affection to my children: As for my selfe I rest contented with life, since I have wholly passed it hitherto in the service of such a Prince.

Tiberius having praised the good nature of Sejanus, and remembered in few words the gratitude he returned, answereth, this affaire required time for a full resolution, and spake in this manner.

Tiberius his Speech.

THe undertakings of ordinary men willingly rest upon profit, but the condition of Princes is quite otherwise: For they should direct the principall scope of their ends to reputation, wherefore I will not reply to your demand so fully as I could. Livia may dispose of her selfe, if she resolve to marry, or patiently abide in the house of

*Præcipua
rerum ad
famam
dirigenda.
Tac.*

my sonne Drulus, in which point she may have counsell much nearer, than mine; of her Grandmother, and her mother: But as for my selfe, I will freely give you my advice. And first concerning the enmities of Agrippina it is undoubted, they will more ardently be enflamed, if the marriage of Livia should divide the family of the Cæsars into divers factions. Thereupon jealousies of women will break forth, & by this discord my nephewes wil enter into contestation, and what will you say, if you must fight for this alliance?

Thou deceivest thy selfe (Sejanus) if thou thinkest still to continue in the same state, or that Livia is of such a disposition, as to be willing to live with a Roman Knight, having espoused Cæsar, and after him Drulus: and though I give my consent dost thou believe, they, who have seen her Brother, Father, and our ancestors in sovereign dignities, will endure I should

*Matris &
avie propi-
ora consilia.
Tac.*

*Quid si in-
tendatur
certamen?*

*What will
become of
thee if
thou beest
called?*

*Vix cum
equite Ro-
mano le-
netur que
nuptiæ ca-
visi. Tac.*

There is
no degree
so regular,
which
stays
where it
begins.

Excessu e-
questre sa-
stium Se-
janus Tac.

Augusti
animus in
omnes eras
distrahatur.
Tac.

Should suffer it? Resolve thy selfe
to live as thou art. But the Ma-
gistrates and prime men of state,
who visit thee to discease thee, and
aske counsell of thee upon all occa-
sions, know well thou wilt not rest
there, that thou hast raised thy
self above the quality of a Knight,
and that I have much exceeded
the limits of the love my Father
bare thee. In publicke they dissem-
ble it, but in private blame my af-
fection for their hatred of thee.
You will say Augustus purposed to
bestow his daughter upon a Ro-
man Knight: verily it is strange,
that he (having a mind erecised
to thinke of all, and foreseeing e-
ven to what degree of power that
man might climbe, whom he, by
this alliance should preferre before
others) never spake of Caius Pro-
culius, and some others of remark-
able tranquillity of life, who never
in any kinde intermeddled in state
affaires. But if we be amazed at
his irresolution, yea, even in the
ad.

advancement of these; How much
more may wee wonder, that hee
married his daughter first to A-
grippa, and afterward to mee?
This is it which my friendship will
not suffer mee to conceale, and as
for the other faction I doe assure
thee I will never preferre it before
thy designes, nor those of Livia. I
will not at this present tell thee
what I resolve to doe before the
yeare be passed, nor by what alli-
ance I desire to linck thee unto me:
I will onely give thee assurance,
there is nothing so eminent to
which thy vertues, and the affe-
ction thou bearest me may not ar-
rive, and when occasion of speech
shall be offered, either to the Se-
nate, or people, I will not therein
be silent. But Sejanus more tru-
sted his owne thoughts than Ti-
berius his words, and his soule
franticke with this ambition, no
longer was capable of reason.
Much adoe hath he had to come
hither, there is no way to passe
any

Insigni vi-
ta tran-
quillitas
nullis R.
p. negotiis
permixta.
Tac.

Nihil tam
excelsum,
quod non
mereantur
virtutes.
Tac.

In the
commerce
of love,
and ambi-
tion; rea-
son is a
coyne no-
thing cur-
rant.

any further. The Ascent hath been difficult, slippery, and craggy, when he shall arrive on the top, he shall finde nothing but danger, and round about him a gaping precipice.

Tiberius not willing to ruine him, made it appeare his course was dangerous, which he would rectifie. *Hee that sheweth the place, where one hath missed the ready way, obligeth no lesse, than he who directeth which way to goe.* He lets him know that this marriage will be a perpetuall source of discord, in the house of the *Cesars*, and that those things which serve for *Ciment*, among such as well accord, cause hatred in the mindes of those, who are already moved.

But *Sejanus* is not so much troubled with the successe of his marriage, as with suspicions which began to be hatched in *Tiberius* his braine against this mighty and puissant authority, he

ulor-

*Vincula
charitatis
apud con-
cordes, sunt
incisamenta
irarum a-
pud infen-
sos. Tac.*

usurped over affaires, which in short time make confidence degenerate into feare, affection into jealousy, and liberty into necessity.

When servants are too great, it is no good signe of the greatnesse of a Prince; yet is it a thing proper to great Princes, to raile merits, and recompence services: for, wheresoever vertue is found, it will be honoured: More it considereth the person than nation; industry, than birth. In all times Rome hath beheld new men raised to mighty honours. T. Cornelianus chiefe Pontifex, Sp. Carvilius Consull, M. Cato Cenlor, Mummius triumphant, and Marius six times Consull.

It is a madnesse to oppose the pleasure of a Prince; when he saith, I will, he gives an account what he doth. We wonder that Euthymus was put into the number of Gods, before his death, and that in his life, he received

*Præcipuum
indicium
magni prin-
cipis, magni
liberti.
In cuius-
cunque a-
nimo virtus
sit, ei plu-
rimum tri-
buendum.
Well.*

*Consecratus
est vivens
sentiensque
Euthymus,
nihilque
adeo mirum
aliud, quam
hoc, placu-
isse Diis.
Plin.*

ceived sacrifices: but we are payed with this onely reason, *Iupiter* will have it so.

To take the power from a Prince, to raise inferiours, and to humble the greatest, is to snatch the scepter out of his hand, to make his authority a scar-crow, and extinguish the radiant light of Majesty. It concerneth the State, that liberality acknowledge desert, and affection support service. The condition of a Prince would be very hard, if hee might not chuse amongst the infinite number of his servants, some one worthy of a nearer trust, according to the happinesse of election, or strength of merit.

It importeth not, whether favour canseja'ous in great ones, envy in equals, hatred in inferiours, so it disturbe not the course of affaires, and that particular interest swallow not up the publick. For when this happeneth, and that to enrich a few Favourites, the State.

*Interest
reipublice
quod usu
necessari-
um, & dig-
nitate emi-
neve, utilita-
temque au-
thoritate
muniri.
Vell.*

*Dubium an
sato prin-
cipum in-
clinatio in
hos, offensio
in illos, an
sit aliquid
in nostris
consiliis.
Tac.*

the State must be impoverished, all runn to confusion: the Prince so ill disposing of his favours, is despised, as having neither judgement, nor justice in his election, and the Favourite findeth, there is no heavier punishment, than publicke hate.

If the Prince please, he casteth him as low, as he raised him high, and there needeth but a blast to overthrow a power, which cannot subsist by its own forces. *Tiberius* (truely) hath some cause of suspicion, upon this excessive power of *Sejanus*, but the affection the people beare to the house of *Germanicus* vexeth him more: and *Sejanus*, who saw his imagination wounded upon this point, representeth the perill greater than it is, awakeneth in the heart of the Empreffe, the old rancors she had conceived against *Agripina*; this remembrance moves choler in her, and anger, which is the sinew that giveth the sprigh-

*Ut pauci
illustrentur
mundus
evertitur:
minus honor,
orbis exci-
dium est.
Sal.
Nullum
gravius sup-
plicium odio
publico.
Sen.
Fluxa
fama poten-
tie non, uis
viribus
mixta. Tac.*

Choler is appointed as a companion for reason: and *S. Basil* calleth it, The sinew of the soule.

sprightliest motions to the soule, makes her consider she shall be nothing, if her enemy be ought.

To cause this apprehension to penetrate more sensibly into her minde, he employeth *Mutilla Prisca*, her trusty friend, & more to gaine her, practiseth upon *Inlinus Posthumus*, who made love to her. The Empresse instantly was stirred with hopes to supplant *Agrippina*, and the feare not onely to goe below, but equall with her, furnished her with sufficient cunning, to make her more odious to *Tiberius*, than (as yet) she was. Besides, *Sejanus* had suborned men, who entertained *Agrippina* with vanities, and breathed into her soul the sweet hopes of government; and as things pleasing easily enter into the beliefe of women, she rendred her selfe more prompt, to minister matter of suspicion to *Tiberius*, and of contentment to the people.

But

*Regibus
aqua, ne-
dum infir-
ma insolita
sunt. Tac.*

*Facilis so-
minarum
credulitas
ad gaudia.
Tac.*

But the age being so corrup-
ted, that although it was held a
vertue, not to do a mitchiefe, and
piety to doe nothing wickedly;
yet *Tiberius* resolving to doe no
good for *Agrippina*, feared to be
condemned of impiety and in-
gratitude, if he did her any inju-
ry. His indignation therefore not
daring to fall directly upon her,
assaulted first her friends and al-
lies. *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin,
was accused of adultery with
Furnius, of charmes and poyson
against *Tiberius*.

Domitius Afer, who at any
rate would make a fortune, was
the accuser: He was in the list of
those whom *Sejanus* entertain-
ed, and used as an inferiour in-
strument to remove great en-
gines. On this accusation, *Agrip-
pina* wholly enflamed with an-
ger, both for the injury done to
her, and the perill of her kinswo-
man, seeketh out *Tiberius*, and
finding him, offering sacrifice
for

*Tiberii se-
culo magna
pietas fuit
nihil impie
facere. Sen.*

*Domitius
Afer quo-
que crimine
clarescere
propensum.
Tac.*

*Non ineffi-
gies mutas
divinus
spiritus
transusus.
Tac.*

*Pulchra
sola exitii
causa, quod
Agrippinam
stulie pro-
sus ad cul-
tum dilex-
erit. Tac.*

for his father, saith;

*It is disproportionable to sacri-
fice victims to Augustus, and per-
secute his posterity. The spirit of
this great Prince is not confined
to his dumb statues, but his true
image, (which is sprung from his
celestiall blood) well knoweth the
difference, by the evill usage is
done him, he being reduced to the
miserable condition of the accused.
It is not Pulchra is aymed at, but
my selfe, I am the onely cause of
her ruine, she hath done no ill, but
in shewing to have no other affecti-
on, but for the service of Agrip-
pina, and that imprudently: For
she ought to have remembered, that
Sofia Galla was banished for the
same.*

This discourte so galled Tibe-
rius, that he could no further
dissemble, but drew from the
bottome of his heart a word
sharp and strange, for his hu-
mour, who accustomed not to
be so cleare: For after he had told
her

her she must moderate her pas-
sion, he addeth a Greek verse to
this purpose, *Daughter, you think
you have wrong, if you command
not.* If Agrippina understood
Greek, this speech could not passe
without an answer; and it is most
certaine, Ladies of this quality
were learned, Agrippina her
daughter wrote an History, Au-
gustus commended her wit, as
one who long time had lived in
Athens, and other Cities of
Greece with Germanicus her
husband, to understand certaine
graces of speech.

And it is without doubt, that
this word touching his ambition
to the quicke, and heating her
choler, she could not hold from
saying this, either in the place, or
in her retirement.

Now, I pray, behold in what
case we are, since the hope of a wo-
man causeth jealousy in Tiberius,
and feare in Sejanus. If I have
been ambitious, it is not for my
selfe,

*Augustus
quadam
epistola
Agrippine
neptis inge-
nium col-
laudavit,
& scripta.
Suct.*

*Mibi nunc-
quam per-
suadebunt,
ut meos
amari & me
nimit, ut
quam pu-
tem. Plin.*

*Agrippina
semper
atrox, per-
vicax ira,
equi impa-
tiens.
Tac.*

*selfe, my sexe wrongs my courage:
If I desire to reigne, it is but a-
mong children. What reason is
there I should love mine own lesse
than I doe? I have a share in that
which heaven allots them, and I
would have them know, if I desire
not their advancement, I cannot
be a mother; and if I wish them
not that, which belongs to their fa-
ther, I cannot be the daughter of
Augustus. Let him call me haugh-
ty, proud, and impatient, as long
as he will, I cannot be other to-
wards that insolent man, whom he
entitleth his companion, and who
will be such with my children, who
hath allied himself with the Clau-
dii, thrust in his images among the
Cæsars, thrown down the Pom-
pey's, extendeth his authority a-
bove the Senate, was the death of
my husband, hath ruined his fami-
ly, persecuted my friends and al-
lies. Yes (truely) I am angry I
command not; but I should be a-
shamed to command so impiously,
and*

and unjustly.

But to what purpose are me-
naces used, where power is wan-
ting? There is nothing more une-
quall than to be weak, and quick-
ly moved with choler. This mood
of *Agrippina* profited her no-
thing, and advanced the condem-
nation of *Furnius*, and *Pulchra*.
Domitius Afer, who had shew-
ed himselfe eloquent in their ac-
cusation, was commended by
Tiberius, and put in the ranke of
the prime Orators, but with
more reputation of speaking,
than doing well. The decrepiti-
nesse of his age, cut off much of
the estimation of his eloquence:
For his spirits being grown wea-
ry and faint, he could not main-
taine his speech.

It was doubted whether the
condemnation of these two Lo-
vers were according to the Iuli-
an Law, ordained by *Augustus*
against Adulterers, for that was
too milde to content the cruelty
of

*Weake-
nesse and
choler ill
match to-
gether.*

*Prosperior
Afer elo-
quentie,
quam mo-
rum fama.
Tac.*

Relegati-
on more
gentle thā
banish-
ment
*Namque
relegatus,
non exul
dicitur. Ovid.*

*Argumen-
tum est de-
formitatis
pudicitia:
numquam
inuenies
tam mise-
ram, tam
sordidam,
ut illi satis
sit unum
adultero-
rum par,
nisi singulis
dividas ho-
ras, & non
sufficit dies
omnibus.
Sen.*

of *Tiberius*, and boldnesse of *Sejanus* which being rather shamefast than severe, did onely banish Delinquents out of the city Rome.

Number moderated the rigor of the punishment: for had it beene capitall, families had become desarts. *Seneca* saith, this excesse was so common in his time, that chastity was a note of deformity; for to the wife, there was no need of beautie: That there was not a woman so miserable and contemptible, who contented her selfe with a couple of servants, gave not to each one his houre, and to whom the longest day seemed not too short. It was by Law decreed, that shee who had a Roman Knight, for grand-father, father, or husband, might not be a prostitute. *Vistilia* extracted from a family of Pretors, declared before the Ediles, shee desired her youth might not bee barren, nor

her

her beauty unknown; in a word that shee was a Curtez-m. This was all the penalty, which custome imposed upon these viri-ous women, that the ignomini-ous declaration of one so wret-ched and infamous, might serve for a punishment. *Tiberius* com-manded her to be shut up in the Island of *Scriphos*. We must be-leeve *Sejanus* rendred him not more mercifull towards the kintwoman of *Agrippina* his e-nemy; for exceeding the severi-ty of his Predecessours, he alrea-dy had caused *Aquilina* to bee condemned to banishment, al-though the Consall onely did it by vertue of the Iulian Law.

Agrippina was so incensed to see her kintwoman thus unwor-thily used, that shee thereupon sickned. *Tiberius* visitez her, and after complements of good wishes for her health, sorrow instantly drew sighs from the heart, and teares from the eyes

I

of

*Saeis pana-
rum adver-
sum impud-
cas in ipsa
profectione
flagitis.
Tac.*

*Aquilinam
quonquam
Consul lege-
lalis dam-
nasset, exi-
it omnino.
Tac.*

*Non aliud
probis, quā
ex matri-
monio sola-
sim. Tac.*

of the sicke, when having deplo-
red the misery, and ruine of her
house, she besought the Empe-
rour to ease her afflictions, give
her leave to marry, her youth
being unable to continue in this
solitude; nor any other content-
ment remaining among honest
women of this her age, but wed-
locke; as also that hee would bee
pleased seriously to embrace the
protection of the widdow and
children of *Germanicus*.

*This request which I (O Fa-
ther) make to you, is not because I
am either troubled at my solitari-
nesse, or that there is any thing in
the world can rekindle my love,
the first being raked up in the ashes
of Germanicus, and which shall
never be revived.*

*This is not a matter to give me
content, there is none left for me:
But if the Gods have (as yet)
decreed any favour for me, they
must afford me a new heart to en-
tertaine it: For they never hi-
ther-*

*therto have allowed any to mine,
but acerbities, it not being able to
hold, or retaine pleasures. I stand
in need of one who may comfort,
not my courage, but cherish my
patience against mine enemies.*

State-rules, which transcend
all the reasons of ordinary lawes,
could not approve this her de-
mand, because being a woman as
well praised for chastity, as fruit-
fulnesse, she would have filled a
house with grand-children of
Augustus, who all one day might
pretend to the succession of the
Empire.

For which cause *Tiberius* con-
sidering the prejudice the state
was like to receive thereby,
made her no answer, and that
he might give her no further no-
tice, either of his distast or feare,
he slightly retired, not speaking
one word. This silence, and
slacknesse the more inflamed *A-
grippina*, but since the first ar-
rowes of revenge are injuries,

I 2

and

Reason of
state is a
contraven-
tion against
common-
Reason in
respect of
one rea-
son, or one
benefit
much grea-
ter & more
univ. i. fall.

An adressed
answer
neither
discovers
the offence
nor feare.
*Ne offensa,
aut metus
prodatur.*
Tac.

*Prima sen-
per irarum
tela male-
dicta sunt
& quicquid
non possu-
mus imbe-
cilles, op-
tamus irati,
Sala.*

*Solum infi-
diarum re-
medium, si
non intelli-
gantur.
Tac.*

and what cannot bee done through want of power, is in heat of anger wished, she vomited all out, which lay on her heart. *Sejanus* who knew how to take his time, ponders all this, and by an officious disloyalty causeth to be said to this Lady, that the designs which *Tiberius* hath concealed in his heart against her, are now on the point to breake forth, that hee is resolved to poison her, and therefore wished her to take nothing, eyther from his hand, or of his meat. *Agrippina* who out of her wildome was not to make shew of this counsell, for the danger might ensue in taking notice to know the purposes of the Prince, presently bare her heart on her forehead, and being at his table, stiffely resolved on silence and abstinence. When he saw, shee had not tasted of an apple, which he presented her with his owne hand, and that shee gave it to those

those who waited at the table, hee turned to his Mother, and said in her eare. *It is not to bee wondered at, if I heretofore have decreed any harsh thing against this woman, since she accounts me a poysoner.*

Where distrust begins, friendship ends: From this instant their spirits became irreconcilable, & the rumour ran thorow Rome, *Tiberius* would put *Agrippina* to death, eyther in private, or publick.

Thereupon *Tiberius* makes a voyage to Naples, the designe whereof had often bene resolved, set on foot againe, and broken off. Hee said it was to dedicate a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and another to *Augustus* at *Nola*, where hee dyed, but his intention was to absent himselfe from the City. It is certaine that *Sejanus* knowing his humour, advised this retirement that hee might have opportunity at his

*Non mirum
si princeps
quid severi-
us statuit in
eum a quo
veneficium
simulatur.
Tac.*

*Certus pro-
cul urbe de-
gere. Tac.
Augustus
died at
Nola.
Cum servi-
tiam, ac lib-
ertatem factis
promeret,
locis occult-
abat, Tac.*

pleasure to rule him: but because he remained there five yeares after his death, I suppose, he chose this place to cover the exorbitancies of his life.

There are some hold opinion, it was also to conceale his old age which made him contemptible, and that hee might not expose his body to publike view, which was ready to fall in pieces, and his spirit to issue out, as it were from a building, the wals whereof are ruinate, and plachers rotten. This ill habit of body, made him ashamed: hee was tall of stature, meager and thin, his shoulders crooked and hollow, his head bald, and void of haire, his face over-run with pushes, and mattery botches, and alwaies spotted and disfigured with plaisters: The haire of his beard covered not his deformities, for the Emperours ware none. His nature was pleased with solitarinesse, & used it much

at

Weake old age makes a Prince to be despised. *Dion* speaks it of *Tiberius* and *Nero*. *Dialo*geras *cataphron*.

Adria was the first Emperour who let his beard grow to cover his scarres.

at Rhodes, where hee fled from company, to hide the shame of his owne excesses, and those of his wife.

One of the most apparant reasons was his impatience, not being any longer able to endure neare his mother, who would do all, nor could he take the authority out of her hands, he having received the Empire from her. Vpon all occasions she upbraided him, that he reigned not but by her meanes, that hee was no lesse obliged to her for his fortune, than his birth. Nor is it to bee doubted; for *Livia* perceiving *Augustus* would declare *Germanicus* his successor, upon the conceit this election would bee acceptable to the people, (who loved and applauded him) obtained so much by her praiers, and conjurations, that *Tiberius* was assured of Empire, after *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* after *Tiberius*. *Livia* put him in

I 4

mind

Soveraign authority is in capable of company.

Matriam dominionis sociam aspernabatur.
Tac.

*Qui expro-
bret, re.
posui, Tac.*

*Marino
partiope
Sejanus
Curtium
Atticum
oppressit.
Tac.*

mind thereof, The memory was a reproach, the reproach a summons of acknowledgement, and the failing herein, Ingratitude.

He then undertooke this journey to absent himselfe from his Mother, and was attended by very few, One Senator *Cocceius Nerva* skilfull in the lawes, *Sejanus*, one Knight, and *Curtium Atticum* whom *Sejanus* ruined. The other were men of learning, and for the most part Grecians; For he entertained himselfe with their discourses, was delighted with the riches and elegance of this language, and spake it distinctly, properly, and eloquently, which is not done without the helpe of nature, art, and propriety. Many can speake, few expresse themselves, for to expresse well it is requisite the discourse be ever to the purpose, the words good, the consequence without confusion.

Besides

Besides the contentment *Sejanus* received in wholly possessing his Master, he managed his affaires with more safety, and lesse envy: but ever gave fortune much advantage over himselfe. His abode in Rome was not so proper, for dismissing the ordinary companies from his house, he lost his friends, in entertaining them, he made the number to be known. and gave suspicion to the Master. He also had another benefit, for receiving the packets which the souldiers of the guard brought, he became sole arbitrator of dispatches.

All the functions of *Tiberius* his soule were depraved in this ill leisure, and all the faculties he had were dissolved into delights, which *Sejanus* perpetually seasoned with some notable example, because this Prince thought his authority weakened, if severity maintained, not his reputation.

I 5

This

He that medleth in many matters, gives fortune much power over him.

*Qui assidu-
o: in domum
cetus ardet,
infringit
patientiam:
quæ recipit,
facilitatem
criminanti-
bus præbet.
Tac.*

Souldiers carried packets of letters and were called Spies.

Hinc me-
tus in em-
ne, & fuga
eorum, qui
convivium
celebrabant.
Tac.

Qui non
sui, sed
principis est
anxius,
cum fide
audietur
quanti am-
exit o suo
sua deat.
Tac.

This retirement afforded him one occasion, which greatly confirmed the proove of his fidelity; for *Tiberius* dining in a vault, the rooffe thereof fell downe, slew some of his officers, and had overwhelmed him, without the helpe of *Sejanus*, who covered him with his head and hands, the safety of his Prince being more dear to him than his own. From that time forward he gave eare to his counsels, although dangerous, not considering the motives or sequels, as proceeding from one who protested to have no other interest, but his authority.

He perswaded him to quit himselfe of *Nero*, the neerest to the succession, whose hopes much disturbed his repose, and entertained desires of change in the minds of the people. He played the Iudge himselfe, his creatures were the accusers, and they condemned him as criminall. This young

young Prince had modesty enough in his condition, but little judgement to resolve on the sudden, and to consider the counsels of his servants, who ceased not to tell him, that his birth designed him for Empire, that the people desired it, the Legions required it, that *Sejanus* was wicked enough, not to wish it, but not sufficiently powerfull to hinder him. These words put no ill thoughts into his minde, but drew from his lips inconsiderate speeches, which being reported to *Sejanus*, and from thence to *Tiberius*, were taken for conspiracies. When he is at Court, great observation is used over his actions: Crime in words, crime in silence: all his wayes are looked into: there is no retreat, nor safety in his house, night it selfe hath no coverture, nor secret place for him: If he repose in his wifes bosome, he there findeth treachery; for as a vessell ill hooped, suf-

Nero quamquam modestus juvenis tamen quid impresentiarum conduceret oblitus, Tac.

Nihil quidem prave cogitationis, sed interdum voces contumaces & incon-sultæ. Tac.

fers

A Roman Senator tryed the discretion of his wife, as a vessel ill hooped; He neither poured oyle nor vinegar into it, but enely water, and satisfied her with toys he invented. *Plut. Nero quidam securus, dum exor vigilas, somnia, suspiria matri Livie atque illa Sejano faceretur.* Tac. *Indiu suspiciatrum odia*

fers all that is poured in, to run out, she relateth to *Livia*, the Emperours mother, his watchings, dreames, yea even his very sighs. *Livia* recounteth them to *Sejanus*, who bandieth his brother *Drusus* against him, giving him hope of the first place, when his elder brother, whom the hate of *Tiberius* made already infinitely to stagger, should be overthrowne. The spirit of *Drusus* was eager, for besides the desire of command, and emulations which ordinarily are among brothers, he was very suspicious, his mother *Agrippina* loved *Nero* better than himselfe. *Sejanus* was no otherwise affected, nor were his intentions better rectified for *Drusus*: but knowing he was couragious, and bare himself boldly in perils, he supposed it would be very easie to prepare an Ambuscado, and souterly ruine him.

All the friends of *Germanicus* were

were sought-out and persecuted: friends deceived friends. The most established amity went not so farre as to the Altar, but covered under it inhumane disloyalties, which shewed how dangerous it was for man to confide in man, whose forehead was a lyer, eye a traitor; and countenance unfaithfull. *Sabinus* accused by *Silius* staid not long to see him in the same precipice, wherein himselfe had been cast: but it was done by a notable treason.

Four Pretors affected the Consulship, the highest honour of Roman ambition. Twelve V-shers marched before the Consul; As he passed along, he that was sitting rose up to him, and he who was on horse-backe, or in a Coach alighted, every one veild bonnet, and many laid downe their swords for reverence.

These Honours being not to be acquired but by the favour of *Sejanus* he that could not attaine ought

accenduntur. Tac.

Multis simulacrum involutus regitur natura; unius usque frons, oculi, vultus per sepe mentitur Cic. Si consulem videro, aut pretorem, omnia quibus honor haberi solet faciam, equo desiliam, caput apriam, similia eadem. Sen.

ought by just and honourable meanes, knew not on what to relolve. Give him money? He careth not for it, he disposeth of the riches of the Empire, and treasure of the Emperour, which consisted of more than three-score and twelve millions of gold: Pleasures? Nature violateth her selfe, turning all upside downe to furnish him: Titles? He is more than the Emperour; for his will giveth law to his, his statues are erected, as high as those of the *Cæsars*. To gaine the favour of the Oracle, the heads of his enemies must be sacrificed to him.

Of this number was *Titus Sabinus* a Roman Knight, who being of opinion that a friend which ceased so to be, had never been such, continued his affection after the death of *Germanicus* to his wife and children, assisting them in their household affaires, accompanying them in the City, boasting

Sejani voluptas non nisi scelere quærebatur.
Tac.

Friendship which ends, was never friendship.
Señetor domi, comes in publico, post tot cientes unus
Tac.

boasting the constancy of his fidelity, even in the time when their faithfulest friends grew timorous, and the most obliged, ungratefull.

That which pleased honest men, and incented the wicked, fell right within the compasse of *Sejanus* ayme, who held it for a bravado and a contempt, that a man of this quality, made so small account of his power, as to declare himselfe openly for his enemies. These men knew the wound in his heart: And undertooke to pull away the Steele that stucke therein. *Latiaris* was made the spy to betray *Sabinus*, and the rest were witnesses. He had some acquaintance with him, which he renewes, cherisheth, and establisheth by a more straight familiarity, and begins to applaud him for his constancy in friendship towards *Germanicus* his family, when others failed, speaketh of this Prince with

Eo apud bonos laudatus, gravis iniquis.
Tac.

Compositum inter ipsos, ut Latiaris frueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent. Tac.
Florentis domus amici, afflictam deserunt.
Tac.

*Molles in
calamitate
mortalium
animi. Tac.*

*Effudit la-
chrimas,
iunxit que-
stus, auden-
sius onerat
Sejanum,
sauiam,
superbiam,
spes ejus.*

Tac.

*Species
arbitri ami-
citiae inter
eos, qui
sermonibus
vetula
misere.*
Tac.

with honour, of his wife with pity, of his children with hope. *Sabinus* beleieving he had found a man truly faithfull to poure his complaints into his breast, and (hearts being ever tender in the resentment of calamities) he let his teares at liberty, then his plaints followed, and after, reproches, and opprobries against *Sejanus*, speaking of his cruelties, pride, and plots, and it being a hard matter to bridle discourte, when anger and passion have taken their scope, many free words escaped him against *Tiberius*.

This secret passion so breathed forth, and his heart thus freely disburdened, he imagined he might build upon the amity, and freedome of *Latiaris*, because they had so interchangeably mixt together bold complaints, and words both dangerous, and unlawfull.

And as discontented spirits penetrate and search into each other,

other, *Sabinus* every day repaired to *Latiaris* to discover to him some new wound of his heart, and that, so much the more confidently, as he reputed him for a most faithfull friend, and that he (poore man) might imploy the more time and judgement to make triall of him.

Latiaris relateth to the other three Senators the discourte which he held with *Sabinus*: but because the testimony of one single man was not sufficient to convince him; they aduiled to hide themselves, betweene the feeling and the boards, to hear-ken, whilst *Latiaris* should continue, & renew this conference. He findeth him in the street, brings him to his house, saying, he had newes to tell him, and being shut up together in the chamber, he representeth to him the perils passed, & the miseries present, whereof these times were too fruitfull, and redoubled new horrors

*Dolores
quasi ad
fissimum
deferuntur.
Tac.*

*Turpila-
rebra, de-
testanda
fraus. Tac.*

*Præterita,
et instan-
tia quorum
affatim
copia, novos
terrores
cumulat.
Tac.*

*Mæsta ubi
semel pro-
rupæ,
difficilius
resicuntur.
Tac.*

horrors upon old grievances, not so much thereby to let him know, that all was naught, as to give him occasion to talke and prattle in his former guise. *Sabinus*, who was still very confident, said to him, Matters were now reduced to such termes, that one could neither speake, nor preface any thing but ill, that no good was to be expected in so tyrannicall & insolent a government, and, for that griefes and injuries are hardly forborne, when they have once had a vent (it being painefull to hide a wound) he makes *Sejanus* author of all these miseries, private and publicke. With much difficulty conceale we our hurts.

All this conference ascended by the holes in the feeling, to the eares of the three Senators, who so soone as *Sabinus* retired, accomplished their treason. *Tacitus* affirmeth, they in the same instant, by expresse letters, let *Tiberius*

berius understand all, representing the treason, and their owne infamy; and *Dion* saith, it was to please *Sejanus*. He might have added, it so behoved them: for besides the recompence they would draw from this disloyalty, and to arrive to the honour of Consulship, by thus dishonouring themselves, if one of these should have betrayed his companion, they had been all utterly undone.

The bruit of this mischief brought to *Capræ*, instantly returned to Rome, where it marvellously disturbed mindes, put every one upon his guard, eares known and unknown were suspected, wals were mistrusted, and things inanimate feared: there was every where silence, perplexity, and amazement.

Sabinus on the first day of the yeare was imprisoned: Is the new yeare (saith he to those who apprehended him) thus begun?

Must

*Missi ad
Cæsarem
litteris ordi-
nem fraudis
suumque
ipsi dedecus
narravere.
Tac.
Tosiano
charixome-
nos. Dion.*

*Note igni-
teque aures
vitantur,
muta, atque
inanimæ,
testum &
parietes
circum-
spectantur.
Tac.*

*Inter sa-
era, & vota
verbis et
am profanis
abstinere-
mos. Tac.*

*Cum qui-
dam ex co-
rona cir-
cumstante
cani cibum
obiecisset ad
os defuncti
tulit. In-
natauit
idem in Ty-
burim cada-
vere abjecto
sustentare
coram. Plin.
Tiberius
scelerum
ministros,
ut perversi
ab aliis no-
lebat, ita*

Muste Sejanus have sacrifices of this quality? what safety then is there for a Roman Citizen, seeing among vows and holy ceremonies, even where prophane words are forborne, cords and balcers are used, both to binde and strangle, yea even Temples are turned into prisons?

He presently was put to death, having no leisure given to defend, and justifie himselfe. His dog stayed still neere the dead body, laid the bread to his masters mouth which which was given him; and when the corps was thrown into Tyber, leaped after to support it, that it might not sinke to the bottome: whilst the whole Citie stood amazed to see such thankfulness in a beast, amongst so many ingratitude, and inhumanities which dishonoured men. All the accusers dyed miserably: and as Princes abhorre Traytors after they have drawn profit out of their treason

so,

so, *Tiberius* rid himselfe of them: for when hee had made use of these evill instruments, he discarded them to take new.

The Emperour gave thanks to the Senate they had delivered the Common-wealth from such an enemy, and added, he passed his life in feare and terrour. That the conspiracies of his enemies much disquieted him, and though he named them not, it well appeared it was meant by *Agrippina*, and her children. *Asinius Gallus* speaking according to his liberty, and usuall plainnesse, laid, the Emperour must be entreated to discover his feares, and suffer they may be removed from his minde. *Tiberius* thought this speech over-bold, for it carried the lampe into the bottome of his heart, which he would not discover. *Sejanus* sweetned it, not for the love of *Gallus*, but that his choler being the more slow, the fall might be the more precipitate,

*plerumque
satiatus, &
oblatum in
eandem
operam re-
centibus,
veteres,
& pragra-
ves afflixit.
Tac.*

*Qui metus
fateretur, eos
& amoveri
sinit. Tac.
Ægrius
accipit
princeps ea
que reclu-
dit, quam
que promit.
Tac.
Tiberius
lenius in
meditando,
nisi prævul-
pisset et ubi-
oribus dictis
atrocia
scelera
conjunge-
bat. Tac.*

tate, and impetuous: having ever found, that the more he thought upon his revenge, time rendred it the more violent, & the more distantly he menaced, the more heavy was the blow.

Asinius Gallus had much credit in the Common-wealth, but no favour from *Tiberius*, who feared his courage, hated his virtues, and said, Pride was in him an hereditary disease, blaming *Asinius Pollio* his father, a brave Captaine, a vehement Orator, an excellent Poet, and a friend of truth in a time when it was most hatefull.

Tiberius (who ever bare in mind the bitter words, which *Asinius* spake to him at his coming to the Empire, when confessing himself incapable to hold any more than one part thereof, he readily asked him, which hee would have) cast him into prison, where for three yeares hee languished: Death dis-engaged him;

Asinius Pollio wrote a Tragedy of civill wars.

Interrogo
Cesar
quam par-
tem repu-
blicæ tibi
mandari
velis. Tac.

him; but it is not knowne whether it were naturall, or violent. Princes will not thus be dallyed with, wee must speake to them by way of supplication, or remonstrance: we are not to correct them; to tell them their errors, is to offend them.

About this time the Emperours Mother dyed, 86. yeares old, according to *Dion*, or 82. as *Pliny* affirmeth, who ascribeth the length of her life to the quality of a wine she dranke. The Senate decreed large honours for her: But her sonne, not through modesty, but envy, cut away part thereof, and by his letters dissembled not, to bee distasted with the graces done to his Mother, taxing the Consull *Fusus* whom the Empreffe had loved, a man very comely to attract the affections of women, and who had a grace in speaking witty conceits, and jesting at *Tiberius* with taunts, which touched the quick. *Great men do*

Speaking to a prince, we are not so much to consider whether that which is spoken be true, as whether they be fit to heare a truth.

Julia Augu-
sta Lxxxij.
annos vitæ
Pucino vetu-
lit acceptos,
non alio vi-
no usa
Plin.

*Faceriarum
apud propo-
scentes in
longum me-
moriam est,
dum acerbis
sunt.*

Tac.

*Parentes
non amare
impietas est,
non agnos-
cere infan-
tia. Sen.*

*Julia Tibe-
rii nomen
suo post scrip-
sit, Tiberi-
us, ut infe-
rius mase-
ste prin-
cipis dissim-
latum gravi
offensione
abdidit.*
Tac.

not so soone forget, yea even that,
which is spoken in merriment.

The haire of *Tiberius* were
growne white under the obedi-
ence of this Mother. Neither age
nor Majestie dispensed with his
duty. The sage Roman hereto-
fore in his time said, that he who
loveth not those who brought
him into the world, is impious.
he that acknowledgeth them
not, is mad. But this respect
grounded upon the duties of na-
ture; hindreth not the liberty of
State-rule, which is jealous of a-
ny thing that trencheth upon
their authority. He was offen-
ded his Mother dedicating a sta-
tue to *Augustus*, neere to *Mar-
cellus* his Theater, had set the
name of *Livia* before that of *Ti-
berius*, he thought Majestie was
wronged herein, & that a Prince
should not consent to be touched
by any.

She had beene married to *Ti-
berius Nero*, Father of the Em-
perour

perour *Tiberius*; and *Augustus*,
becomming extremely passio-
nate for her love, tooke her from
her husband, and that so sudden-
ly, that he gave her not time to
lay her great belly, and to leave
in her lodging what shee there
had taken. It is not known, whe-
ther shee consented to this
change, or whether her igno-
rance gave some colour hereun-
to. Faire Women, who have
don amisse at the suit of a Prince;
think authority will excuse them.
Helena said, her Mother erred
not, having *Jupiter* for the war-
rant of her fault.

Scribonia the Wife of *Augu-
stus* was rejected, because she too
liberally had complained of the
immoderate power of this new
Mistresse; her fall established *Li-
via*, and her errour taught her,
that to gaine the heart of her hus-
band, she must comply with his
humour, which was the cause
she being asked what shee had
done

*Penatibus
gravidam
induxit.*
Tac.

*Vitium au-
tore rede-
mit. Ovid.*
*Matris in
admissa fal-
sa subima-
gine luse,*
*Error inest
plavia te-
ctus adul-
ter erat.*
Ovid.

done to governe him so absolutely, answered, *By not prying into his actions, and dissembling his loves.*

Never any Woman gave her Husband better counsell. For seeing *Augustus* having reigned severely, lived not safely, and that *Cinna* had attempted to kill him in a City of *Gaule*, as hee was sacrificing, with intent to offer him as a victim for the publique good: *Augustus* was much displeased, when he was advised hereof, and desired death, since so many were interested therein, and that a man of quality, nephew to *Pompey*, undertooke to bereave him of his life. In this perplexitie, *Livia* his wife spake these memorable words: *The remedies you have used have bin to no purpose, take the contrary way, severity hitherto hath nothing profited, try the effect of clemency: pardon Cinna, his plot is discovered, hee cannot prejudice*

your

*Quid vivis
si perire te
tam multo-
rum inte-
rest, quis
finis erit
supplicio-
rum & quis
sanguinis?
D. Aug.*

*Severitate
nihil adhuc
profecisti,
tenta quo-
modo tibi
cedat cle-
mentia:
Ignosce Cin-
næ, de pre-
bensus est,
jam nocere
tibi non po-
test, prodesse
fama tue
potest D.
Liv.*

your life, and may much benefit your reputation.

Augustus beleaved her, sends for *Cinna*, and telling him hee was well informed of his design, said: *I heretofore gave thee life, as mine Enemy and a Rebel: now I will grant it thee, as a Traytor and a Parricide: Let us speake no more of it, but befriends, and make it appeare which of us two hath done best, either I in pardoning, or thou in repenting.*

As *Tiberius* had his confident friend, so *Livia* had hers. To obtaine any suit from *Tiberius*, way must be made by *Sejanus*; He that would gaine the favour of *Livia*, must sacrifice to *Vrgulania*, whose power in the City was so great, that no man darst enterptise any thing contrary to her liking, how just so ever it were: For shee had raised her selfe above the Lawes; besides, shee was a woman so haughty and arrogant, that being called

*Contenda
mus utrum
ego meliore
fide vitam
tibi dederim,
an tudebe-
as. Sen.*

*Amicitia
Augustæ
Vrgulaniam
exiulcrat
supra leges.
Tac.*

*Vestales in
foro, & ju-
dicio audi-
quies te-
stimonium
dicerent, ve-
tus mos fu-
it. Tac.
Vrgulania
monitu prin-
cipis pugna-
nem nepoti
misi. Tac.*

to the Senate, she refused to ap-
peare, although none were dis-
pensed with herein, no not the
Vestall Virgins themselves. *Ti-
berius* enforced through duty to
his Mother, became passionate
in her causes; in such sort, that
her Nephew having throwne
his Wife out at a window, hee
went presently to view the
Chamber, and saw this woman
had not cast her selfe downe of
her owne accord, as her Husband
affirmed: for the signes were
yet to be scene, of the violence
used to thrust her out, and of her
resistance to hinder it.

While this Lady was alive, he
moderated his affections, sub-
mitting himselfe through duty
to her counsels and *Sejanus* for
reverence humbled his designs
under her commands, not daring
to contradict them: But after
her death, all was at liberty, and
in confusion, nor was there a-
ny farther hope or refuge for in-
nocency.

Caius

*Tunc veluti
fraxis exo-
lutis prorup-
erunt. Tac.*

Caius Caesar who succeeded to
the Empire, publicly praised
her before the Palace, that shee
most religiously had governed
her house after the ancient man-
ner, not permitting time should
introduce the vanities and curi-
osities, which so much had wa-
sted the former simplicity. A
Princesse most affable, and cour-
teous beyond the carriage of
women of passed times. As a
Mother, she could not suffer, As
a Wife, nothing was insupport-
able, yea, was so wary, that she
prudently accommodated her
selfe to the wisdom of *Augu-
stus*, and the dissimulation of *Ti-
berius*.

The Senate received letters
from *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*,
and her children: It was thought
a long time since they were
writte, but that the Empresse had
detained them, foreseeing they
would give occasion of trouble,
and although her ambition wax-

K 3

ed

There is
nothing
but ambi-
tion which
never wax-
eth old in
man *Tbu-
cyd.* and
Plut.

ed not old, yet desired she to end the small remainder of her life in repose.

They accused neither *Nero* nor *Drusus* of treason, nor of levies of souldiers, nor to have plotted innovations, onely that they were debauched. There was not any thing offended the mother herein, but the imputation of pride and obstinacy. The letters being read, it was moved deliberation should be used, but as opinions are delivered more, or lesse rigorous, according to the disposition of their nature who give judgement, certaine Senators, whose hopes could not be grounded upon honour, yet sought out occasions of grace, and favour, in publicke calamities, advised contrary to the most antient, and sage; and making their owne desires mount much higher than other, found *there is not any spirit so strong or firme, which ought not to be very reserved*

*Quem nullo ex
beneficio spes
publice malae
in occasione
gratiae trahunt.
Tac.*

ved either in giving counsell or judgement upon the liberty, or life of him, who may succeed the Prince.

Tiberius had bestowed the office of the acts and registers of the Senate on *Junius Rusticus*, who having not given before any proote of constancy, or fortitude, yet shewed it was good to proceed gently in this affaire, that the accused might have time allowed him to repent, and frustrate this commandement: for the most important things are altered in a moment. Besides nature, in the house of *Germanicus* was vigorous and flourishing, and in that of *Tiberius* weary, spent, and fraile.

Vpon this difference the people who could not endure these Princes should be used as criminals, detest this injustice, and lay the blame on *Sejanus*, carry the figures of *Agrippina*, and *Nero* up and down the City, assemble

K 4

daily

*Dandum
interstitium
penitentiae. Tac.*

*Brevibus
momentis
summa
veris pos-
sunt. Tac.*

*Perebantur
sub nomini-
bus consula-
rium fidei
in Sejanum
sententiae.
Tac.*

Per occultum libidinem ingeniorum exercetur procacitas.
Tac.

daily about the palace, cry out the letters were false and forged, make processe against *Sejanus*, and counterfeiting the resolutions of the Senators, the stoutest man amongst them having collected them from this company, pronounceth judgement of death against him. And to this, Satyricall invectives are not wanting, so much the more confident, as the authors were concealed, and gathered and sought out so much the more greedily, as they in them contained quicke and ingenious conceits.

Sejanus who should have avoided these blows by contempt of them, gave satisfaction to his enemies, by letting them know these things much troubled him, and informing the Emperour, his Majesty suffered in his suffering; That the people assembling together, and making decrees, there remained nothing for them to doe, but to take armes, and chuse him

him Emperour, whose Images they bare for ensignes.

Tiberius wrote other letters, and continueth his complaints against *Agrippina*, and her children, against the temerity, and insolence of the popular multitude, & against the Senate, who more weighed the cunning practises of one Senator, than the reverence of his Commands, in contempt of his will, and scorning of his authority: but addeth, that he to himselfe reserveth the judgement hereof. The Senators excuse themselves, and protest they resolved on punishment, and extreamest rigour if his commandement had not stayed them.

In this point all the world bewaileth the inestimable losse of *Tacitus* his bookes, which recorded the rest of *Agrippinae* fortune, the conspiracy of *Sejanus*, leading us along with the force of truth through the mists of conjectures. Libraries have preferred

Facile populus duces, Imperatoresque diligit, quarum imagines pro vexillis sequitur.
Tac.

Integra lib. multa postulavit.
Tac.

The losse of *Tacitus* Annals is inestimable, not of some pages, but of all which passe from the year 732. to 755.

ved many bookes, which we willingly would restore to them againe, for that which wanteth of this excellent author, who described all that was requisite to be known of the worlds affaires.

Now *Tiberius* ceased not, till the Senate had satisfied him, and that all his violences were authorized by their judgement. Nothing so much urged the condemnation of *Agrippina*, and her children, as the information *Sejanus* gave to *Tiberius*, that she was resolved to passe through the temples of Rome, to imbrace the statues of *Augustus*, thereby to stirre the people, and if that took not effect to hasten with her children to Germany to seaze on the Legions.

Agrippina was uled no better than her children, and we must understand, that of her, which *Suetonius* saith of them, that he caused them to be declared enemies, and dye with hunger. *Nero*

was

Novissime
calumniata,
modo ad
statuam
Augusti,
modo ad
exercitus
confugere
vellet.
Suet.

Accusavit
per literas
amissimas
congestis
etiam pro-
bris, et ju-
dicates
bonis
sane nega-
tis. Suet.

was banished into the Iland of Pontia, *Drusus* immured in the base Court of the palace: the rumor was, that *Nero* seeing the executioner who brought the halter, and hooke for him to make his choyce, slew himselfe with his own hand, and that food being denyed to *Drusus*, he eat the flocks of his matteresse; but the death of these two Princes was not so sudden, nor in this manner. *Suetonius* wrote it upon bruit, who makes his freight up, as well of lies, as verities.

The worst was done that might be against *Agrippina*, and her extremity was to be exiled into the Iland of Pandatria in the Tyrrhene sea, where she hourly might expect, when they would come to strangle her, or being asleepe, cause death and sleep to meet together. But *Tiberius* desired life should be her punishment, and, As injuries are

they

Druso adeo
alimenta
subdula,
ut tomen-
tum è cul-
citra tenta-
verit man-
dere. Suet.

Pandatri-
am relega-
vit. Suet.

Simul
mori
jungere.
Pet.

*Quorum
causa gra-
uior, quia
iniqua.*

Tac.

The pen is cold in comparison of the tongue, when the ardent passion of a woman courageous, and incensed is to be expressed.

*Fuerim
tantum
nihil ampli-
us delevare
domus piz-
mentum.*
Sen.

they have not deserved them, and whose cause is just: to this poore Princess she ceased not to complain, and lament the inhumanity of *Tiberius*. Seeing then we know the wrong she suffered, we may well conjecture what the complaints were she made. Her ordinary discourse was to this purpose, but it is not heightened with that grace she gave it from her gravity, nor with that fervor wherewith she enkindled it by her passion.

Agrippinaes Speech.

Vill the cruell Tyrant be satisfied, seeing hee may now with full draught quench that ardent thirst in the blood of *Augustus*, which so long hath tormented him? And will this disloyall *Sejanus* any more complaine of fortune, who hath brought under his owe power these three heads, which stopped his passage

passage to Tyranny?

The Gods have singled mee out to beare alone all the miseries of my house, and the expiation of the rest. I aske them but one favour, which is death. Is it possible they should deny it to the miserable? And who is more miserable in life than he who desires to dye; or in death, than hee that is denyed buriall?

Complaints, not forbidden to the wretched, and which afford some ease to misery, are denyed mee; Nay, if this instant know not, whether spies may be set upon mee to relate all I say. And I wish it so. It is an argument of feare and pusillanimity, not to dare to tell our grievances. I will complaine to heaven and earth of the inhumanities practised by *Tiberius* on the living, and dead. He put my uncles to death who resisted his hopes. *Augustus* my grandfather not long after discovered to *Fulvius* his intention of repealing *Agrippa*.
This

*Quid mi-
serius in
vita quam
velle mori?
Quid in
morte quam
sepeliri non
posse? Sen.
P.*

Augustus communiceth this secret to *Fulvius* who discovered it to his wife, she to *Livia*. *Augustus* is displeased with *Fulvius*, who for griefe killed himselfe, and his wife followed him. *Plut.*

This poore Agrippa was the first victim sacrificed at his entrance into the Empire. My Mother Iulia, who for her last misfortune, and third Husband, married this cruell man, presently followed her Sonne. Germanicus was poisoned, his Widow banished, Nero exiled, Drusus, a prisoner, Caligula in their power, what would they more?

I was married, hee hath taken my Husband from mee, I found another among the prime families of Rome; he hath hindered it; I was a Mother, he hath taken away my Children; I was free, he useth mee as a slave; Nothing is left me but honour, and hee indeavourerth by impudent calumnies to traduce it. His slander being unable to fasten on me, hee hath invented a new imposture, which senteth of the pollution of the place, from whence it proceedeth, in saying Asinius Gallus hath loved in store for me. I cannot but think

well

*Tiberius
sadiſſimis
criminati-
onibus ex-
cepit, impi-
diciam ar-
guens, &
Asinium
Gallum ad-
ulterum.
Tac.:*

well to bee loved by a man, whom Augustus held worthy of the Empire: besides he was my brother in law, nor have I so little respected my sister Vipsania, as to robbe her of the heart of her Husband.

Let my former actions answer for my present; Never have I knowne whom to affect, but the friends of my Husband, nor have I ever transferred my eyes, or thoughts upon any other. If I have beene Mistresse of some beauty, I have not beene proud of it, nor suffered others to talke of it, or esteemed it at all but for decency.

They have reason indeed to say I have beene too haughty; It is true my disdaines have served my purposes: For scornefull beauties entrap not hearts: I must affirme the passion of love in my soule hath given way to ambition, and I have taken more pleasure in employments, which only appertaine to

mas-

*It is not
fit the wife
seeke par-
ticular
friends,
but think
well of
the gene-
rall friends
of her hus-
band. Plut.*

Agrippina
aqui impa-
tiens, domi-
nandi avi-
da, virili-
bus curia fa-
minarum
villia exue-
rat. Tac.

It is the
fashion of
good men
to do wel,
and of bad
to speake
ill, and do
worse.

masculine minds, than to vani-
ties, which satisfie none but the
effeminate, and I may truly say,
it is long since I forsooke all the im-
perfections of my sex, to put on
manly, and generous resoluti-
ons.

But these impostures, are
nought else, than moakes proce-
ding from the ardent desires of Se-
janus to arrive at the Empire:
For he seeing Rome affecteth me,
and that this well-wishing is sup-
ported by the opinion of some me-
rit, hath proclaimed me a wicked
woman, but as he exceeds mee in
speaking ill, I have ever surpass-
ed him in well doing.

Let him please himselfe to have
cast mee into a condition, that I
may no longer be able to give him
occasion of feare, I on the other
side comfort my selfe, he hath re-
duced me to such a state that hee
can doe no worse by me, for I shall
esteeme the greatest ill hee may
worke, the greatest good hee can
doe.

doe me; Let him not feare I will
oppose his ambition, he ought to
dread fortune more than mee, I
suppose she cannot be more favon-
rable to a mischievous plot, than
she hath appeared unequal in
the protection of a just and lawfull
cause.

His ambition hath no limit, sa-
tietie in him procureth appetite,
he in the beginning protested, the
Colonelship of the Guards should
content him, hee desired nought
else; and now, when hee through
age should not stretch out his hand
to any, but the Physitian, hee will
grasp the Tribunitiall staffe, to
bee in the neereft degree to sou-
reigne command. Hath hee asked
counsell of his courage, whether he
be capable? He never hath seene
a battell, but in Picture, nor e-
ver drawne his sword, but to shew
the blade.

After all this, he would have
me live, that death may serve me
for a punishment, and will not suf-
fer

The appe-
tite of am-
bition en-
creaseth
with satic-
ty.
Tiberius
said, a man
who had
passed
threescore
yeares
should not
stretch out
his hand
to the peo-
ple, to
have their
voyce, or
suffrage.
plus.

*Vici, quem
vicerim que-
ris? metum
mortis, qui
victores gen-
tium vicis.
Sen.*

*Officium pi-
um, sed im-
tile. Ovid.*

*Expellan-
dus exitus,
quem natu-
ra decrevit.
Sen.*

He, who is
in the po-
wer of an-
other, im-
paires his
condition
by his im-
patience,
and the li-
berty of
his com-
plaints.

for more let it appeare a Woman
knowes, how to conquer the feare
of death, which terrifieth the most
daring. Since then all the passa-
ges to arrive at death, or draw it
upon me are stopped up, I must
seek it in mine affliction, and my
courage must yeeld thereunto; It
shall not resist these violences,
consolations would redouble it,
which I will refuse, on what side
soever they come; Those my
friends afford shall in themselves
commendable, but for me unprofi-
table.

If abstinence, affliction, melan-
choly, and sorrow cannot vindi-
cate mee from this misery, and
that needs I must live dying, and
dye living, I will expect which
way the Gods, will have mee finish
my dayes, and hap what hap will,
as I have lived Agrippina, I will
dye Agrippina;

The colour of her wounds dai-
ly increasing, shee continually
laid her hand on the sore, and
with-

without ceasing renewed the
complaints, which so excessive a
sorrow was unable to moderate.
Her words were related to Ti-
berius, who was well pleased,
that she perpetually gave him
cause, why to augment her ill
usage, for it would have vexed
him, her patience should oblige
him to any courtesie. Hee com-
manded the Captaine who had
her in charge, not to let the ill
language she used passe without
reply. This cruell Man well
knowing; the way to please Ti-
berius, was to injure her, and
hearing her continue frequent
complaints and reproaches, so
barbarously and brutishly beat
her, that therewith one of her
eyes started out of her head.

After this cruell outrage, shee
would no longer live, and being
resolved no farther to expect
death, but to prevent it, she re-
mained some dayes without
food; but the Souldiers opening
her

*Convulsa-
ti oculum
per Centu-
riones ver-
beribus ex-
cussit. Suet.*

*Mori ine-
dia desti-
nata, per
vires ore di-
ducto insul-
cari cibum
iussit Suet.*

*Ad morien-
dum nihil
aliud in
mora, quam
velle. Sen.*

*Non magis
crudeliter
sunt, qui
volentem
vivere oc-
cidunt,
quam qui
mori volen-
tes non
sunt. Sen. P.*

her mouth by force, constrained her to swallow nourishment. She therein being more miserable than others, who dye when they list, and have nothing but their own wils to hinder them; but she was willing to dye, and is enforced to live. Death is the onely remedy for evils, and she may not use it. *They are no lesse cruell, who kill those that would live, than such as force them to live, that desire to dye.*

Yet is not *Sejanus* arrived to that he aimed at, all he hath done to advance his purposes, prospers not; for *Tiberius*, who was no longer distrustfull of *Germanicus*, nor jealous of *Drusus*, and is revenged of the pride of *Agrippina*, and her children, imagineth nothing can further disturb him, but the arrogance and immeasurable power of *Sejanus*. Which is the cause he addeth new jealousies to old fears, and revolves in his braine, that he dreameth

of

of Empire.

Besides, Fortune began to grow weary of waiting on him, for he went too fast. She forsaketh his insolence, and ill carriage, as if she had not raised him, but to make him fall from such an height, that there should not be a creature found durst lend him an arme, or offer a bolome to receive him. *Tiberius*, who loved him, began now to feare him, and seeing the Senate more esteemed of *Sejanus* than himself, he entred into an apprehension they would make him Emperour, from that time he resolved to draw this thorne out of his heart; but did nothing rashly: For it was onely dangerous to enterprise his ruine, but even to make semblance thereof. He proceeded very slowly, and contrary to the advice of the Sages, who counsel, matters important should rather be acted, than consulted on.

This

*Quos diu
fortuna
sequuta est,
eos repente
velut fari-
gosa desti-
nit. Q.
Cint.
Dion saith,
Tiberius
seeing Se-
janus was
waited
on, and
feared by
the Sena-
tors,
doubted
they
would
make him
Emperor.*

A wife Courtier ought to know the complexion of his Prince. Behold upon this an excellent Treatise of the Court, written by M. de Refuge a Counsellor of State.

*Rationem
felicitatis
memorad-
it. Aufen.*

This delay proceeded both from prudence, and affection; for it troubled him to ruine a man, who began to serve him, before he to reigne.

Yet notwithstanding suppose, had this been all, he would have dissembled it, nor ever had rid his hands of him; for he was apt for his humours, knew them perfectly, consented to his pleasures, corresponded with his opinions, had readily preserved him from an ill accident, & disingaged him from his perplexities. He overthrew all the principall men which ministred matter of feare, or jealousy, reposing himselfe on the watchfull heed of a servant so faithfull and approved, entemedled not but with occurrents of most moment, and lived peaceably in his Island.

And though it be a matter very difficult, to sound the heart of a Prince, and the canles of sudden prosperities, yet doubtlesse there is no way so short to merit

his good opinion, as to serve him in matters which are either pleasing, or profitable, dispose of his delights, and manage his purse. *All, which is honest and profitable should give content.* But the passion of pleasure transporteth the consideration, both of honour and profit. *Sejanus* had all which might serve to entertaine the Prince in repose, and banish the necessity of affaires; and such power over his heart, that he gave it what motion he would, either of love, feare, or hatred.

He had done many great services for him, and although this consideration is not alwaies plausible in the mindes of Princes, (for there are some, who the more they are obliged, the lesse doe love.) Yet would *Tiberius* have great ones know, what they (in serving him well) might expect. But there is no likelihood if he had not been endowed with excellent parts, and of courage

To be loved of a Prince, he must be observed in his pleasures.

A Prince ought to take notice of services, that he may be the better served.

Sejanus laboris, & fidei capacissimus, sufficiente vigore animi, compage corporis, & actu otiosus simillimus. Vell. Infra aliorum estimationes semetipsum, vultu, vitæque tranquillius, a nullo exformis. Vell.

rage undaunted, he so long had continued in the favour of *Tiberius*, a sower, severe, prudent, and suspicious Prince. The History sets before us two divers Pourtraits; the one under *Tacitus* his pensill, who representeth him, as wicked; the other from the hand of *Velleius Paterculus* who flatters, and affords him al, the lustre of a perfect Courtier, he sayes: The vigour of his body was answerable to the force of his spirit, that he travelled without paine, acted all, as if he did nothing, and in his greatest employments seemed at rest, neither shewing himselfe troubled, nor turmoyled: That he hunted not after occasions, nor gave himselfe the honour of it: That he had his desires in all, and ever placed himselfe beneath the esteeme was had of him: there could never be observed, or found any alteration in his countenance, his spirit alwayes awakened, and he ever active.

How-

Howsoever it be, *Sejanus* to all purposes was an able man, and having lasted almost as long as *Tiberius*, we must thinke, if Fortune had not turned her selfe against his counsels, he had enforced her to subscribe to his wisdom. Onely I much wonder, that having made so many friends, he wanted friends: That among so many heads tyed (as it were) to his, and which could not stand firme on their shoulders, were his taken off, there was not one spake freely and faithfully, to advise him to prevent his ruine. It is the common calamity of great ones: it is necessary all discourses addressed to them be of grace, and sweetnesse: They beleeeve truth oweth them all that, which complacence affordeth. Were there Iudges appointed for adulation, they would have little to doe, for no man complaineth, he is flattered,

Sejanus had this unhappinesse,

L

not

To speake sweetly and graciously to great men. *Atticus* calleth it, flattery, *Acilius* adulation, *Choristides*.

not to have a creature, who sincerely and ingenuously at any time said.

Temper your spirit, provoke not your fortune, abuse not your favour. Dally not with your Master, this time will not alwayes last; Patience offended turnes into fury. And should any one have said this, he would not have beleev'd it. Pride dazled his eyes, whilst he boasted to hold fire, and water in his hands, and meant to make use of them when he pleased.

Tiberius then (though tardily) perceiving *Sejanus* built his hopes on his tombe, and that he not onely dreamed, but plotted, yea attempted on Empire, he resolved to quench the fire of this ambition, in the blood of the ambitious. The *first* suspicion he conceived, was upon his marriage with *Livia* the widow of *Drusus*: The *second*, that the house of *Germanicus* being over-

Dion saith, If any God were descended, and had assured the ruine of *Sejanus*, it would not have been beleev'd; for at that time every one swore by his fortune. Not onely to attempt, yea think, may dream against the State, is a crime.

throwne,

throwne, there appeared no obstacle for his insolence, which was mounted to such a height, it no longer could rest in any consistence: The *third* on the excess of his power in the affaires of the Senate, treasures and commands: The *fourth* on his great retinue of servants, who too much presumed upon him: The *fifth* that he held *Drusus* prisoner, and *Caius Caesar* at his dispose, to produce them when need were, and continue under their names the supreme government: The *sixth* upon the cunning he used to withdraw him from his abode in the City, and detain him as a captive; under pretext of absence, and old age: The *seventh* upon the strong and violent meanes he made to have the power of a Tribune, which was so great, that the Emperours annexed it to their owne persons: The *eighth*, that *Sejanus* spake words he should

L 2

rather

*Suaviter
ad gradum
claritatis
cum vene-
ris, agre con-
sules. Liber.*

*Impreha
blanditi,
non quia
amicorum,
sed quia de-
teriores
facit assen-
tando Ale.
Provocabat
Calvum
ingenue jam
Seneca,
turresq;
laci multu-
m, munia
innocentia
utilis trans-
missum.*

rather have concealed than expressed. And if upon all this he had had but this one suspicion of his aspiring to the state, there needed no paines to be taken to find out a greater crime.

But *Tiberius* is condemned of two acts of pusillanimity; The first two have suffered the increase of this excessive power, which could not bee acquired without extreme industry, nor lessened but with over much severity. The tree, which was in the beginning but a little plant, beareth his head and branches so high, that it giveth a most dangerous shadow. That which he might have drawne forth with one hand, when it did but prick, taketh such deepe rootes, that it afterward is very hardly pulled up with both. *The Prince who hindereth not increase of ambition, when it first groweth, deriveth no other profit from his sufferance, but losse and repentance. A State will*

Bloud drawne abundantly from the best vein is well employed to defend or acquire one least mite of authority.

will no more tolerate two Kings, than the world two Sunnes, or the Temple two Deities. Sovereigne authority is a strong sea-wall, not so soone overborne by the impetuous violence of the tide, or weight of the water it resisteth, as by a slight rift, or cranny, which gives passage to the torrent of waves.

The second is to have used so much ceremony in so pressing an occasion, so much policy in so great a power, so much feare in so undoubted security. Not to be separated from him, he made him his colleague in the Consulship, to whom no man had been associated without unhappiness.

When *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate, hee stuffed his letters with nothing but the deserts of *Sejanus*, and the services hee had done the Empire: These words are many times inculcated *Sejanus my friend, my Sejanus, I say my Sejanus*. It seemeth he con-

L 3

fined

When authority is once cracked it is ruined.

Quintilianus varus, *Cicero* Piso-
Germanicus and *Drusus* who had bin Consuls with *Tiberius* died of a violent death.
Dion.

fined not the glory of the Empire, but within the compasse of his life. His statues were to be seene every where, every one raiseth them as to their Guardian God. Who will refuse to yeeld him honour, on whom the Emperour so profusely confers it?

Uero debemus homines, quod solis antoninum non sitientes bibimus.
Plin

This five yeares Consulship, intoxicated him, and as the excellency of wine invites a Man to drinke beyond thirst, so this sweetnesse of prosperities inebriated and transported him to more, than he wished. He that is imbarqued on this Ocean, where there are so many perils, ought never to confide in the Calme, but rather turne his eies towards heaven, to direct his hopes to a good haven.

The solitary, and voluptuous life of *Tiberius*, was the ladder of his ambition: For like another *Sardanapalus*, hee vaunted nothing but his riots. *Sejanus* enter-

tainained him in this shamefull idlenesse, spitefully accustoming him to prefer things sensuall, before serious. *He, who neglecteth the office of a Master, findeth servants audacious enough to command him: And who affecteth the Prince but in a Chamber, runnes the hazard to find a companion in the field.*

Impudence accompanying his pride, drew these words from his mouth, which ought never to have proceeded so much as from his thoughts: *I am Emperour of Rome, and Tiberius is Prince of the Island.* He caused sports to be presented afore him by bald men, who were brought to the entrance of the Theater, by five thousand shaven youths, therewith to flout *Tiberius* his bald crowne This number will not be strange to those, who know the Romans had troupes, and Legions, and such there have been who have had more than twen-

Athenius reckoneth 20000. & calls them *Sum proyonias, Antambulones-*

ty thousand of those marching before them; but it was much to shave them, for then great care was used in frizeling, and curling their haire.

*Familias
calamistras.
Ap. l.
Crinitus
puer. Sen.
Prætexti
pueri. comp.
liq. Hor.*

*Aram clemencie,
arum amicicie
effigies
que circum
Cæsaris, ac
Sejanis con-
lucere: cre-
brisque pre-
cibus effla-
gitabant,
visendi sui
copiam fa-
cerent.
Tac.*

Tiberius was instantly advertised of this mockery, and made shew not to know it, although he resented it to the quicke, but was willing ignorance disabled should excuse the slacknes of undoubted revenge. Besides, *there is not anything which more galleth the heart of a Prince, than to see himselfe braved by a man, whom he hath raised from the contempt and misery of a meane condition. It is no lesse troublesome to be exposed to the derision of servants, than to the discretion of enemies.*

Vpon the newes, that the Frisons, a people of Rhine had broken the peace, and in battell defeated the armies, so great was the terror in Rome, that every one ran to the Altars of clemen-

cy

cy, and amity, adoring the statues of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, which stood round about, humbly beseeching them to returne againe to Rome. *Tiberius*, and *Sejanus* were willing the Romans by their abience should judge of the benefit, their residence in Court brought them: Nor indeede is it fit a Prince should still abide in one place: If the Sunne slept not out of one of his twelve houses, all would run to ruine. *Tiberius* notwithstanding drew neare, and because he sometimes approached even to the suburbs, not entring into the City, many thought the limits of Astrology, and lying, stood not so neare one another as it was said: For the Astrologers affirmed, *Tiberius* went out of Rome under such a constellation, that he should never return againe; and there is great appearance, if this feare had not sciled on his imagination, hee had

*Breve con-
firmar-
is, & falsi.
Tac.*

L 5 not

not resided eleven yeares out of Rome.

These predictions animated the complices of *Sejanus*, solliciting him to temporize no longer, since the starres conspired with his purpose. On the other side *Tiberius*, would not be surpris'd, and as the feare of evill which he apprehended much urged him, so the perill of remedy restrained him: but imagining hee should bee prevented, if *Sejanus* had the winde of him, hee durst aske counsell of none but himselfe, what resolution was fittest to be taken.

Sejanus (as yet) distrusted nothing, prosperity had seel'd up his eyes, he thought *Tiberius* meant no other, but to passe his time in *Caprea*; it was now five yeares he had beene there, at Rome there was no speech of of him, but as of a Prince who reigned not, and lived but at the devotion of others; that he nei-

ther

ther saw, nor heard, but through *Sejanus*, who alone was his eyes, and eares, and took no contentment, but in pleasure, and ease, which was the cause *Sejanus* put forward and advanced his designe of the Empire the more violently; what blindnesse is this: He is not to live one moneth, and plotteth designs for an age?

It was very strange he had not some suspicion of the Emperors purposes. All intelligences which went to *Caprea*, or came to Rome passed thorow his hands, and he hearkened to them all, For it is behovefull those who are engaged in important affaires, should slight nothing, and though oft times tales are brought, yet some truth is ever stirring: they make use of all, and are well paid for it; when of an hundred informations given, one proveth true.

He held all dispositions at his discretion, either by feare, hope, or benefits. Those who served

Ti-

The kings of Persia had servants called the eyes and eares of the King, and by them they understood all that was done or spoken every where.

Am.
There is no man so great a lyar, who speaks not some truth.

Hearts are gained by hope, fear, or benefits

Tiberius, depended on *Sejanus*, swore by no other name, but, that, of their Master. *Tiberius* did nothing which was not related to *Sejanus*, nor was advertised of any thing *Sejanus* acted contrary to his service. He had men for all sorts of employments; *Seneca* calls them his dogs, who were onely tractable, and tame to himselfe, and barked at all others; for he maintained them with the bloud of his enemies. *Tiberius* not able to lay hold on him in the face, sets on his sides, and embraceth him to strangle him: He caused a rumour to be divulged, he would make him Tribune, and wrote to the Senate, that without him this vast body of Empire would fall in pieces; in all his letters he signifies *Sejanus* was the Oracle of his designs, the companion of his thoughts.

The Senate who observed not, that *Tiberius* dissembled, seeketh

*Accerrimi
canes, quos
Sejanus ne
sibi uni
mansuetos
omnibus
feros habere
ret. sanguine
lunare
pascibat.
Sen.*

kech out all sorts of honours, wherewith to dignifie *Sejanus*, decreeth both their names should be set in the selfe same line in patents, and inscriptions, their chaires in the same rank in Theaters and Temples, their statues every where erected, and that comming to Rome one onely should goe before another.

Tiberius is not offended the Senate cherisheth the pride of *Sejanus*, to the end that vanity rendering him more insolent, his deportments might become the more odious. In the meane time to let *Tiberius* know his designs ayme not beyond his life, he caused *Germanicus* to be accused, that he had attempted on the person of *Cesar*, this man for his fuller justification brought his will into the Senate house, where he made the Prince his heire, a prooffe of his affection, and desire not to survive him. But that being not sufficient to save him, when

He who
will ruine
one is well
pleased
with his
evill carriage.

He who
will make
one his
heire,
thinkes to
dye before
him.

*Nullum
magis ad-
versarium
timeas,
quam qui
vivere non
potest, oc-
cidere po-
teſt. Sen. P.*
Tiberius
ſaid, behol-
ding *Caligula*, I
breed up a
Serpent
for the
people of
Rome, and
a *Phaeton*
for the
reſt of the
world.
Sutt.

when he ſaw the *Queſtor* com-
ming to execute him, he thruſt
a knife into his own belly, ſaying,
*Go tell the Senate I dye as a man
ought to doe. Publia Priſca* his
wife, being in the palace, did the
like. I much wonder among ſo
many, who dyed thus couragi-
ouſly, there was none enterpri-
ſed the death either of *Tiberius*,
or *Sejanus*: For he who is care-
leſſe of his owne life, is maſter of
anothers.

This ſo fervent favour of *Tibe-
rius*, cooled not at the firſt oc-
caſion, it grew lukewarme, and
then wholly congealed into Ice.
He to day ſtrikes one blow for
Sejanus, and to morrow another
againſt him, he aſſigneth the dig-
nity of the *Pontifex* to his ſonne,
and though he hated *Caligula*,
he gave him the ſame honour, and
that onely becauſe he was an
enemy to *Sejanus*. At this inſtant
he gratified him, in granting
what he demanded, and pre-
ſently

ſently revoketh what he had gi-
ven him, and held his ſpirit ſo
ſuſpended betweene hope and
feare, that he knew not where
he was, and did nothing but like
a man amazed. He commandeth
the Senate to free a *Proconſull*,
whom *Sejanus* had accuſed. *Ti-
berius* publiſhly praiſeth *Caligula*,
and lets it be known, he reſol-
ved to declare him his Succeſſor,
not ſo much for affection, as to
make the world grieve at his
Succeſſor, being indeed more
cruell and wicked than himſelfe.
He writing to the Senate, ſayes
no more but this onely, *Sejanus*
is my friend, his name was found
in his letters ſingle, and alone,
adding no more the titles, and re-
commendations he accuſtomed.
*As ſoon as the affection of a
Prince takes ayre, it vapours a-
way, and it is a hard matter to
conſerve it ſtill in the ſame degree
of heat.*

The people were all well plea-

Tiberius
deſired all
might pe-
riſh after
him, and
thought
Priamus
happy, in
that he
ended his
reigne and
life toge-
ther. *Dion.*

Caligula seeing many Senators at his table, laughed at a sudden, and it being asked, what he meant by it? he answered, for that it is in my power to cause you to be strangled one after another. *Suet.*

pleased, that *Tiberius* began to affect *Caligula*, not so much for the love of him, who was naturally violent and inhumane, taking no delight, but in the sight of blood, as for honour to the memory of *Germanicus* his father, and the desire of *Sejanus* his ruine, of whose tyranny they were apprehensive.

Tiberius, who had pondered and digested this designe in his heart, thought there was no further danger for him to declare himselfe, and leave the way of dissimulation, to pursue the track of fortitude. He sent an Edict to the Senate, prohibiting the offer of sacrifice to any man living, and the ordaining of any kinde of honour to *Sejanus*, it being a matter by him not approved, to see the reverence conferred on a Subject, which he accounted disproportionable for the Prince.

Then was the time when such as were but friends of his fortune,

tune, declared themselves enemies to his designs! Temporary friends) who come but to drinke, and return back againe when the bottles are empty. But as thunder roareth when the aire is brightest, *Sejanus* beheld himselfe surprised with a storme, in the clearest serenity of fortune. Many presages he had of his fall. The Theater where he received salutations on the Calends, brake; and a Cat crossed him. Coming from the Capitoll, the Guard thronging thorow the presse to follow him, and get before, fell from the top of the staires, from which criminals were headlong thrown. *Sejanus* consulted with Southsayers, to know what that presaged. Lucky birds appeared not: He saw none but a great flight of Ravens, ill-boading birds, Nightingales of Hell, which flew, and croaked round about him. There was seene in the ayre a globe of fire, such

Tamdiu placebit, quamdiu uilis. Sen.

Ancient Superstition tooke the crossing of a Cat for an ill presage.

Tiberius Gracchus going to the Capitoll, three Ravens flew about him, and he was there slain *Val.*

Videmus non semel flammam ingentis pile specie, que tamen in ipso cursu suo dissipata est. Vidimus circa divi Augusti excessum, simile prodigium, vidimus cum de Sejano actum est. Sen.

such an one as was beheld at the death of *Augustus*, and *Germanicus*: but there was not a man, who in this his most flourishing state, imagined he was so neere his end. Yet desisted they not to stile him the companion of *Tiberius*, not onely in the Consulship, but in the Empire of the world.

Tiberius, to discover dispositions and affections, wrote often to *Sejanus*, and to the Senate, sometime that he was in good health, sometime at the point of death: other while that his strength was come to him againe, and that he hoped very shortly to see them, and return to Rome.

These dissimulations availed him: for according as the newes brought either joy, or sorrow, hope, or feare, hee distinguished between such as depended on him, or *Sejanus*. He also besought the Senate, to send him one of the

two Consuls with a Guard, to conduct him safely.

Hee thought the conspiracie was so powerfull against him, he could not withstand it, and had already for the purpose prepared ships for flight, and caused Senti-nels to be set on the rocks, who by fires were to give signall of what they discovered. Needs must the conspiracy be great, and neer at hand, or *Tiberius* very timorous and wretched, so to manifest the anguish of his minde, *For never should feare lodge in the heart, or appeare on the forehead of a Prince, who maketh his complaint, when those who ought to feare him, terrifie him.*

But *Sejanus* beginneth to be perplexed, when he heard it reported, the head of one of his statues was seene to smoke. Hee commanded it to be broken to know the cause, and there issued from thence an huge serpent. He despised not this Prodigy, but made

rudenda miserandaque oratione P. C. precabatur mitterent aliterum de Consulibus, qui senem se, et solum, in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari prestidio perducere. Suet.

We must not proudly despise prodigies. This contempt undid *Alexander*. App.

*Perseus.
Justin.
Crassus-
D. Halic.*

*Dion saith,
Tiberius to
surprize
and en-
trap Seja-
nus, caused
the Senate
to be told,
he would
give him
the power
of a Tri-
bune.*

*Nihil non
aggressuri
sunt homi-
nes, si mag-
nis conati-
bus magna
premia
proponan-
tur. Liv.*

made a sacrifice to himselfe; for so he was accustomed, there also was found about the necke of the same statue a little cord.

Tiberius judged, the Destinies conspired with his revenge to ruine him, and therefore continued his subtilties, causing a bruit to be spread, he would raise him to the principall charge of the Empire. Yet at the same time dispatched *Nevius Sertorius Macro*, with commission to present his letters to the Senate, to seize on the person of *Sejanus*, to set *Drusus*, who was in prison at liberty, that he might rally together all his friends against the common enemy, if opposition were made.

The place of Colonell of the Guard, which Tiberius had given to *Macro*, encouraged this execution. Princes who desire to be well served ought ever to make the quality of the service appear by the recompence. He came se-

cretly

cretly to Rome, communicateth the cause of his arrivall to Con-
sull *Memmius Regulus*, and not to his Colleague (for he was a creature of *Sejanus*) and to *Gracinus Laco* Captain of the watch. He found them all very ready, to sacrifice this wretch to publicke hatred.

The Consull summoned the Senate for the next day to the Temple of *Apollo*, and caused this scrowle to be affixed to one of the pillars of the Gallery.

In an happy houre.

*Memmius Regulus shall
assemble the Senate to morrow
early in the morning in the
Temple of Apollo, there the
Conscrip't Fathers are to be, and
there matters important shall be
treated. Penalty for the absent,
inexcusable.*

To

The Se-
nate stay-
ed in the
Temples,
or holy
places.

The word
was, *Bonum
facium*,
Well be-
fall it.

*Prima luce.
Cic.*

To give example to others, he was one of the first, he entreth in with the Ensignes of his dignity, the purple robe, twelve Lictors marching before him, making way. Being entred, he sacrificeth wine and honey, takes his place in the Ivorie Chaire; the other Senators doe the like, ranking themselves in their severall seats.

Macro encountred *Sejanus*, who (as yet) was scarcely entred, and seeing him somewhat troubled that he brought him no letters from *Tiberius*, said in his care: *There is better newes, I bring you the power of a Tribune.* This satisfied him: his friends were quickly made acquainted with it, and much rejoiced saying to themselves, hereafter all which fortune would grant to the Romans, should passe thorow their hands, or be pronounced by the mouth of their Master.

Macro

*Qualem
quisque
sortem, statumque
habeat in
mea manu
positum est,
quod cuique
mortalium
fortuna da-
tum velis,
meo ore
pronunciat.
Sen.*

Macro presenteth his letters and retireth, cauleth the Souldiers to assemble, under colour he was to give them notice of the Emperours commands: and by this meanes left those of the watch, to guard the Temple, and the other who followed *Sejanus*, repaired to the field and ensigne. Being there he assured them the Emperours favour to acknowledge their services, and gratifie them with a donative. There was not a man, who lent not an open ear to this speech, and promised not to be ready. He chose a good number to guard the passages, and the Temple of *Apollo*: That done hee presented his letters to the Senate, opens his Commission, retireth, leaves *Laco* there, and hasteneth to give direction in the other parts of the City.

These letters are read, which expressed an afflicted and trembling

Those presents were armours, pikes, ensignes, scarfes, chaines, & crownes.

The authority of a Prince cannot descend more low, than when he dare not speake plainly to his subjects, upon any thing which displeaseth him.

The tragicall end of *Sejanus* is well expressed in the french *Tiberius* of M. le Maistre the chiefe Physician of Mounfier.

bling spirit, that durst not unfold, but in broken words, what he had upon his heart, against the ingratitude and treachery of his servant, they were confuted by divers affaires and out of order, the beginning upon things indifferent, the sequelle of other matters more important, pursued with many complaints of the immeasurable power of *Sejanus*. Afterward he fell upon other occurrents, intreating the Senate to grant out Procelle against two Senators, familiar friends of *Sejanus*, and lastly commanded, but as betweene both, that they should vigilantly observe the actions of *Sejanus*. There was not a word of putting him to death, so much did hee feare, lest the great reputation he had in every place might oppose him, and that in case matters succeeded not according to his desire, hee might ever reserve a liberty to declare himselfe.

But

But as feare beleeves all it imagineth, to the friends of *Sejanus* finding not in this letter what they expected, shrunk from him, as from a place threatned with thunder. When the favour of a Prince forsaketh one, it is dangerous to come neare him, disfavour is infectious.

Here *Dion* observeth how variable the minds of men are, saying, before the Emperours letters were read, there was not a Senator, who offered not his service to *Sejanus*, and asked not how he pleased to employ him. But perceiving the minde of *Tiberius* altered, they changed in an instant. Those which stood farre from him, looked scornfully on him, such as were neare, removed farther off, they who before accounted it an honour to wait on him, now held themselves disgraced to sit neare him. And where are men to be found who in adversity remember be-

M

ne-

*Alisquisque
pavendo
Dat vires
sana nulla-
que auctore
malorum.
Que finxi-
re timeat.
Lucian.*

*Cicero
chargeth
Catiline
with the
like.*

*Aluente
Iho ista sub-
f. Il a vacua
fatta sunt.
Cic.*

Every one
avoided a
traitor.

*Quis in ad-
versis bene-
ficiis rum
servat me-
moriam?
aut quis ul-
lam calamiti-
tosis deberi
putat grati-
am? quan-
do fortuna
non mutat
fidem Vell.*

*Usque qua-
que sapere
oportet,
ide rit re-
lucta acerr-
imum.
Cic.*

nefits? or thinke themselves bound to the miserable? Great amities are not to bee sought in Court, nor are petty enmities there to be found, and that is the cause why wise men breake with none. Ill will, and hatred are harsh plants, the fruits they beare are alwaies sowre, there is no sweetnesse nor profit, but in amendment of manners, that the enemy may not lay hold on the life, or fortune of him whose fall or ruine he thirsteth.

Sejanus did ill to come into the Senate, when he saw *Macro* brought him no letters. Providence which turneth her eye on every side, and is a strong buckler against fortune, failed him. Nay hee should have gone out when he understood the jealousies, which *Tiberius* let fall in this letter, and had he beene followed by those of his faction, the rest would have censured his power by his courage. But seeing no-
thing

thing very expresse against him-
selfe, he thought they were va-
pors of his melancholy, and cer-
taine inequalities, and that there
was not any so hardy, as to dis-
gust him.

The Consull *Regulus* called him, he sitteth still; but not out of arrogance, for he was much humbled, rather indeed because he was not accustomed to obey, or be commanded. Hee called him the first and second time, & stretching out his hand, saith, *Sejanus come hither. Sejanus* answereth. *Doe you call me?* (Sr.) *Yea*, saith the Consull, *Sejanus* steps forward, and in an instant *Laco* Captaine of the watch stood before him, and all the Tribunes round about, that he might not goe out.

The day of this memorable act, was the eighteenth of *October*, which is knowne, because *Tiberius* ordained the fiftenth of the Calends of *November*, should

Presump-
tion con-
temneth
safety.

Words of
command
are harth
to those,
who have
never o-
beyed.

*Decretum
ut xv. cal.
utrinque
novis dies
per omnes
annos do-
num Iovis
sacraretur.*

be solemnized at Rome, both for the death of *Sejanus*, and of *Agrippina*. And if the ycare likewise bee observed, it was of Romes foundation the 785. and of the raign of *Tiberius*, the eighteenth and from the birth of Christ the 34. There was no danger of hastening his judgement, or of commencing proccesse for his execution. The law of ten daies was not (as yet) made. All his life was a streame of insolence, pride, violence, and fury.

Dion affirmes, that in one day he was arrested, condemned, & executed, and by the shortnes of time, we may guesse at the facility of proceedings, which were arbitrary, wherein such retardation, or expedition might be used, as they listed. Proccesse against *Lentulus*, one of *Catilines* confederates was made in two daies; That, of *Clentius* continued long; This, of *Sejanus* was dis-

S. C. aElum
us pena
diminutoris,
in decimum
semper diem
deferre-
tur. Suet.

dispatched in a morning. The taske of things serious ending at noone, that which is done after dinner, was (as it were) out of time, as well in matters most pleasing and facile, as important and painfull, and now the Trumpet which served as a clocke among the Romans having sounded the houre of tenne, no man expected any new relation.

Memmius did not put the Emperours letters into consultation, and that deceived *Sejanus*, who trusted to his friends and had he so done, the diversity of opinions would have marred the matter: For the length of discourses had wasted time, which hee was to gaine, to the end *Sejanus* his faction might not stirre. But to avoid the blame of doing all on his owne head, hee commanded a Senator whom he knew to bee a good Citizen, and well affected to *Tiberius*, to

M 3

speake

Aristotle gave the morning to Phylosophy, it was *Ergon*, afternoon to eloquence, *Patergon*.

The Consul asking advise of a Senator spake this word. *Dion*.

speake his opinion. *Dion* nameth him not. This man said.

The speech of a good Citizen.

A Magistrate who had discovered a conspiracy, and seems fearfull to remedy it, is as faulty as the Conspirator himselfe. *Sal.*

THe affaire here presented (*Fathers Conscript*) is of so great consequence, that according as you herein shall make resolution, the weale-publike is either shaken, or confirmed, and we shall be traitors to our Country, ingratefull towards the Prince, unjust to our selves, if we exercise not therein all sincerity, and fidelity. *Cæsar* with one hand sheweth the mischief unto us, with the other the remedy: The mischief, the conspiracy of *Sejanus*: The remedy, the imprisonment of *Sejanus*. I doubt not, but the evil is greater in his knowledge, then he expreſseth in his letters, yet hold I the remedy more extreme than he supposeth, We cannot be assured of the person of *Sejanus* in delivering it up to a Magistrate:

gistrate: Who will take this charge upon him? Nor may wee do it by the Guard: he commandeth them, nor by committing him to any private house, he will not abide there long: Nor can it be done by his cautions: what assurance is there in state affaires, as they now stand? we cannot answer it, but in detaining him prisoner. The prison is but for slaves: there is not any for a Roman Citizen, a Consul, or Senator, much lesse for him who hath commanded over people, Senate, and Consuls. Our predecessors will rise out of their graves to defend this priviledge, (the onely marke of our ancient liberty) for they thought, to binde a Citizen of Rome was a great offence: to strike him a crime, to kill him, a Parricide. The prison is the place of punishment among the Romans, and of custodie among Barbarians.

There is none, but those who know not *Sejanus*, or are ignorant

M 4

of

Eminent persons were put into the custody of Magistrates. *Lex Julia* was committed to *Lex*. *Spart.* Cethegus to *Q. Catulus*. *Statilius* to *C. Cæsar*, *Cæpar* to *Cn. Terentius*. The first prison was built by *Aulus Marius*, or *Tarquinius* *Facinus* *vinciri civem Romanum*, *scelus verberari*, *parricidium necari*. *Cic.*

Digenes
said, there
had beene
some who
slew them-
selves in
the tem-
pest be-
fore the
vessell was
drowned.
Licinius
Macer
said to
Cicero, Non
damnatus,
sed reus
perio. Val.
Alienæ
crudelitatis
proxuratio-
nem susci-
pere. Sen.

of Tiberius can doubt the necessity of proceeding further: It would be a great wonder, if hee should prove innocent, and an unspeakable unhappinesse, if he escape us. He must be made an example, and to the end hee may not take from the publicke, let us deale surely: Hee would have courage enough to drowne himselfe in the storme, and not expect the ship wracke of the vessell. Our Ancestors have beheld, how Caius Licinius Macer, seeing himselfe lost, and the Iudges ready to give sentence against him, got up to the top of the house, and thence threw himselfe headlong, to have the honour to dye uncondemned, though accused. He was willing to prevent his judgement, and make himselfe his owne Executioner.

The Weale-publicke is here in question, the safety of the Prince, the preservation of the State, our Altars, our Lawes. I am ashamed to preferre our owne interests be-
fore

fore the commands of Cæsar. The secretest way ought to be the most just. We are to preferre our safeties before our honours. There is no meanes to stop this evill, but by arresting Sejanus, and no course to stay him, but by imprisonment. The person, time, and crime oblige you to make your selves sure of him, and to chase away the evill by the evill it selfe. Sejanus is raised upon the ruines of the State, it is fit the State repaire it selfe on the ruines of Sejanus. It is a great sloth in the Senate, to have tolerated so much: Cæsar doth an infinite favour to the people of Rome, to free them from this tyranny: Let us not lose the honour to have seconded his piety: It shall be more glorious to follow Sejanus to prison, than to serve him at liberty. If he be innocent, the Gods are unjust.

What terrour soever possessed the Assembly, the resolution was hazardous, and this counsell being approved, every one judged it

M 5

In deliberations you must alwaies incline rather to that which is safe, than to that which is convenient, or profitable.
Dion. Hal.

prava consilia in incerta sunt.
Tac.

it reasonable to execute; nor examine the will of the Emperour. He was led to prison, and the Consull would trust none but himselfe with the adventure of this conduct, lest hee might escape, or be rescued from him. Thus the same Senators, which an hour before accompanied him to the Senate, now led him to prison. Those who offered sacrifices to him, as to their Gods, who prostrately bowed their knees to adore him, now jested at him, when they beheld him dragged from the Temple to the Gaole, from supreme honours to the lowest shame.

Yea, some there were so transported with fury against him, that seeing him to cover his eyes with the skirt of his robe, with which he veiled his head (for the Romans ware no hats, but in the wars, or time of sicknesse, nor caps but in a voyage) they pulled it away, despoyling him thereof for

*Cui genia
flexerunt,
ac ut Deo
sacrificave-
rant, Div.*

*Patris ecci-
nio ad-
rasum ac-
cluserat ce-
put. Petr.*

for the greater disgrace, and with their fists giving him many blowes on the face.

The people flouted at his fall, detested his life, reproached his insolence, cryed out on the Traytor, and had they been suffered, he had not come unmaimed to the prison; for they at that instant would have dragged him to Sestertium, the most infamous place about Rome, & where the bodies of slaves were throwne. But supposing he was not imprisoned to preserve his life, they flew upon his statues. Those in a moment were overthrown, and were seen to be drawne up and down with ropes, to be melted in the fire. Pieces of that head, which was adored as the second in the whole world, and which made the Senate tremble, were converted to meane moveables of the kitchen.

There was so little space between his glory and his fall, that he

Plutarch
saith, the head of Galba was cast into Sestertium Upon this *Dion* maketh a notable observation of humane inconstancy.

*Ex facie
toto orbe
secunda,
sunt uice-
o'i, priores,
sartago,
parcellæ.*

Iuven.

Dion no-
teth that
Sejanus
saw his
statues to
be broken,
and from
it percei-
ved what
happened
to himself.

A man
must be
seasonably
prepared
for a fall,
and rather
to goe out,
than ex-
pect to be
expelled.
Necessary
formes.

*Accusatio
crimini de-
siderat, et
non perfinit,
hominem
ut notet,
argumen-
to probet,
res con-
fermet.*
Cic.

he was so soon stricken, as threat-
ned. He beholding at the en-
trance of the Palace, what was
done to the statues, imagined the
principall would be ill intrea-
ted: but his greatest misery was,
to have been no better prepared
for this calamity. *The ordinary
error of those who are lifted to
great dignities, is, not to be wise,
till after their falls, and having
the means to descend at their ease,
expect till they are forced to leape
downe the staires.*

After Sejanus had passed the
wicket: the Consull, that hee
might not lose time, returneth to
the temple of *Apollo*, enters into,
that, of Concord, which was
neer unto it, to grant processe a-
gainst the prisoner; for it were a
wrong to the reputation of the
great justice of the Senate, to
think it forgot any thing of form,
in an affaire of so remarkable im-
portance; where it was necessary
the authority of justice should
cover

cover the defects, might happen
in the proceeding, the processe
being begun by imprisonment.

The Accusers, Witnesses,
Complices, were all heard in full
Senate: For the instruction was
publicke, and the people had (as
it were) environed the seats of
the Iudges. In it there was much
authority, for the Majesty of the
Senate was exposed to the view
of all, nothing covered it but hea-
ven, there was much sincerity,
so many eyes, so many Iudges,
great example, all acted with or-
der and discipline.

It is not to be doubted, but
some excellent Orator was al-
lowed him, more for ceremony
of defence than opinion of inno-
cence, and that performance of
duty was recommended unto
him; for the more vigorously his
cause were maintained, the more
would be the triumph of truth.
Thereupon the Iudges warchful-
ly observed the countenance of
the

*Populus
Romanus
circum sub-
sellia coro-
nam facit.*

Cic.
*Antigonus
being in-
treated to
judge a
cause in
private, an-
swered: It
is better
in the Pa-
lace, un-
lesse we
should be
unj. st.*

*Plut.
Timor, per-
turbatio,
suspensus,
incertus
vultus, cre-
bra coloris
mutatio,
que fuerant
antea suspi-
ciosa, aper-
ta, et que
manifesta
faciunt.*
Cic.

the accused, and satisfied themselves often in doubts of intention, by troubles of the countenance; the aire of which many times possesseth the place of words.

Besides, *Macro* had given the word to the Consull, *It is Tiberius will, he dye.* They were not to expect any other commandement, nor to send him the opinion of the Senate. It was necessary for the State; and though he entred not culpable into prison, his quality permitted him not to goe out innocent. The Iudges could not erre, when they obeyed the directions of the Prince, who beholdeth his own affaires with an eye different from that of his Officers.

The Iudges make an oath to give sentence according to conscience. Neither Consull, nor Pretor deliver opinions, but take verdicts. The number of Senators was great, *Cicero* reckoneth three-

Many times the Senate related to the Prince what they had creed.

*Damnaturi
jurant ni-
li se preci-
bus dare.
Sen. P.*

threelcore and fifteen against *Piso*. It was lessened under the Emperours, and there were to be forty by *Augustus* his Edict, to make a Decree. Sentence was given either by discourse, or writing, by a little Tablet put into a box, or by silence and gesture, as at this day by veiling bonnet, a signe of consent, or by the pace, when thole who were of one part, ranked themselves together against the contrary: this was called going on foot. There was here but one voyce to be heard; *Let Sejanus dye, let his posterity dye, let his memory dye, and be all his goods confiscated.*

The Senators were so animated, that it is certaine those, who knew the advantage they had above the rest (as *Albutius* the loudest in speaking) were not silent, to gaine thereby the gracious favour of the Prince, yea, even they who chiefly depended on the wil of *Sejanus*: And doubt you

*An expe-
ctem dum
sepinaginta
quinque
tabella divi-
pian. Cic.*

Many times in notorious crimes they cryed out, *Hostis, Hostis.*

*Allatius
in alterca-
tione vires
suas nove-
rat. Sen. P.*

*Nunquam
si quis mihi
credit ama-
vi, Hunc
hominem.
Juvén.*

The
friends of
Sejanus
shewed
themselves
very passi-
onate
against
him.

you not, but what was spoken among the people, who had nothing to lose, was also said by the Senators, who accounted all men lost, which had beene his friends.

These men were the bitterest, and said; If *Cæsar* would extend clemency, it ought to be conferred on men, not monsters. If the Senate had not been carefull to conserve the glory of their mildnesse, in the detestation of horrible punishments, he had suffered as a Parricide, his mouth had been stopped with weeds; wooden slippers had been fastened to his feet, he had been stowed up in a sack with a Dog, a Cock, an Ape, and a Viper, (impious creatures, companions for a wretched man) lastly, he had been sent to the river upon a cart drawn by two black Oxen, for a mark of the enormity, and hideousnesse of the crime.

But never hath any Common-wealth

wealth been more curious then the Roman, to preserve this ancient reputation of humanity and courtesie. *Metius Sufferius* for his treason, was drawn in pieces by four horses; all the people turned their eyes from a spectacle of such horror. This was the first and last punishment in this kinde of rigour, which had made the Judges forget, that lawes and penalties were ordained, not for Tygers, or Ounces, but for men.

It was expedient the execution of *Sejanus* his sentence should be shewen, as in other mens cases, but that herein more pompe for the occasion, and example was to be used, and more diligence and power for safety, and for that in this many Magistrates were employed. Here is briefly delivered all which must be sought in many places, & which confusedly, and variously is related,

Judge-

*In aliis
gloriarī licet
nulli gaudi-
um minores
placuisse
pœnas.
T. Liv.*

In an ar-
rest it is
observed,
*Quo rese-
rente, Quo
decernente,
& Quo
primum
assentiente.*

*Carnifex
non modo
foro, sed
etiam coelo
hoc, ac spiri-
tu prohibe-
tur. Cic.*

*Insuper
induit
Magistra-
tus vestem.
Sen.*

*Lex non
irascitur,
sed consti-
tuit. Sen.*

Judgement being signed by him, who registers the Acts, and Letters of the Emperour, by him who first delivered his opinion which was followed by the rest, and by the Consull, who decreed what was resolved on: the executioner was sent for, whose abode by the law of the Censors might not be in the City.

The trumpet assembled the people, sounding before the gates of the temple, before the house of the man condemned, and in publicke places. The Consull or Pretor mounteth up to his throne, puts off his purple robe, or turneth the wrong side outward, or else taketh one of black, as a sad and dismall habit, yet not disposing his countenance to anger, or Melancholy, but retaining the comeliness, and gravity of the law, which is not angry with any man.

The condemned is led forth, the Vshers command silence, the

Consull

Consull pronounceth sentence, which is written in a Tablet, and turning himself towards the executioner, sayes, *Do according to law*, or more plainly, *pass on*. They abstain from the harsh word, kill, hang, knock him down, as if one should command a servant to crush a scorpion, or a Caterpillar.

The executioner bound his hands behinde him, the trumpets sounded whilst he prepared for execution, and the condemned disposed himselfe to death. Time was not at discretion: *Nero* never gave more than an houre for one to make himselfe ready for the mortall blow. As in funerals, there were instruments, which sounded sad and mournfull aires, with Cornets for great men, or with the flute for interiours, which was called Symphony, So likewise at executions the trumpets sounded an alarum, as it were a charge, or an onler, to

march

*Fit a præco-
ne silentium.
Sen. P.
Quibus a-
nimadver-
tere in dam-
natos ne-
cesse est, non
dicunt occide
non morere,
sed lege, age.*

*Crudelita-
tem impe-
rii verbo
miliore
subducunt
Sen. P.
Noxio post
terga ligan-
tur manus.
Sen. P.
Adhibe na-
tur legiti-
ma verba,
canitur ex
altera parte
classicum.
Sen. P.*

*Quis nam
Delator?
quibus indi-
ciis? quo
teste proba-
vit? Nihil
horum, ver-
bosa, &
grandis epi-
stola venit.
A Capreis:
bene habet,
nil plus in-
terrogo.
Juven.*

march on to death.

In the meane space the people amazed at so suddaine a judgement, aske the cause thereof, one sayes for what offence is he condemned? who was his accuser, what confederates, what witnesses, Is there nothing of all this? Another replyeth. *A large and long letter is come from Caprea,* And a third sayes *it is sufficient, we need know no more, All is well.*

The forme is no otherwise expressed, than as *Dion* hath set it downe, and the words hee useth signifie, he was condemned and executed.

It is certaine there was no rumour concerning his punishment. When any one among the ancients was condemned as a delinquent, it was to banishment (the civill death of a Roman Citizen.) The gibbet, empaling, & gallowes, wild beasts, the halter, the hang-men were for

*Supplicium
more majorum. Tac.*

for slaves, and the baser sort of people. It is long agoe, said *Pattus Thrasias* to *Nero*, since there was any speech at Rome of the hang-man, or the cord; the lawes have ordained punishments which correct the crimes without infamy in respect of time, without cruelty in regard of the Iudges. Traitors, Rebels, enemies of the common-wealth, leaped headlong from the Tarpeian Mount. *Manlius* was throwne from the top of the hill a thwart the rockes, and he had as *Plutarch* saith, the Capitoll for witnesse of his most fortunate Acts, and greatest Calamity; this punishment was inflicted upon him for having enterprized upon the government of the common-wealth. A punishment of all the most dreadfull, for the rocke was rough, of an admirable height, the middle and sides bordered (as it were) with sharpe points like tainterhooks, and

*Sunt pena
legibus
constituta
quibus sine
iudicio sa-
vitia, &
temporum
infamia (uf-
plicia) de-
cunantur.
Tac.*

*Tarpeio pro
ditores, ho-
stesve publi-
ci impman-
tar. Sen.*

*Locus idem
in uno ho-
mitae, & ex
imagine glorie
monimen-
tum & pe-
na ultima,
fuit. T.
Livi.*

*Moles abs-
cissa in pro-
fundum, fre-
quentibus
exasperata
saxis, Sen.*

*Nondum
caput ense
rotare. Lu-
can.*

*Et iste cum
amica cana-
ret iucundi-
us, homo
occisus est.
Sen. P.*

and if the body fell upon them, it was eyther broken, or more violently cast off. The very sight of it had horror, and who once fetched this leape, was sure enough never to make another.

The heads also of offenders after the civill warre were cut off, not with an axe (as anciently) but with a sword, and this punishment was so new, that a Courtelane at the table of Proconsull *Flaminius*, laying she never had seene it, hee caused the head of a prisoner, to bee chopped off by the hangman. *Valerius Antius* gave the like satisfaction to a Lady whom he loved. Behold here goodly Magistrates, who play with the lives of men, and the authority of lawes, to content the cruell curiosity, the one of a Citizens wife of *Placentia*, the other of a trull, whose name was so odious, that if the Vsher meeting her in the consuls

pal.

passage, had not chased her away, the dignity of the office had suffered.

Sejanus had not his head stricken off; the punishment, was too mild, in so violent and publicke fury. *Juvenal* saith, that being dragged thorow the City with a hooke, the people admired at the greatnesse of his head, and large size of his lips. I suppose he was strangled in prison, for it was the most ordinary punishment, & *Tiberius* uled it. After he had caused *Agrippina* to be put to death at *Pandatria*, he boasted what favour he had done in not commanding her to bee strangled, and would have the Senate to thanke him for it.

His three poore children were carried to prison, his daughter promised to the sonne of *Claudius* was deflowred neare to the gallows by the hangman, because it was not permitted to

put

*Majestas
lesa, & ex-
cuncti pro-
consulime-
ritrix non
summove-
tur. Sen. P.*

*Sejanus
ducitur an-
co spectan-
dus, gaudens
omnes, que
labra, quis
illi vultus
erat? Juve.*

*Inclavus
Cæsar
quod non la-
queo stran-
gulata, ne-
que in Ger-
monias
projecta fo-
ret. Tac.*

*Puella à
carnifice
juxta laque-
um; com-
pressa. Tac.*

*Puella adeo
nescia, ut
crebro inter
rogaret
quid ob de-
lectum, &
quo trahere-
tur neque
satura ul-
tra, & pos-
se se parvis
verberis man-
eri. Tac.*

The Ge-
monian
staires in
the third
station of
Rome,
which was
mount A-
ventine

put a Virgin to death by tor-
ment. *Dion* saith shee was
slaine by the people. *Tacitus*
thinkes his Sonne knew what
they would doe and the hazzard
he did incurre. There was a
daughter of his so young, and of
so little understanding, that hee
ceased not to cry out, *What have
I done? whither will they leade
me? If I may be forgiven, I will
doe so no more; There needeth
nothing but a rod to correct mee.*

The hang-man tooke these two
by the throat and strangled them
both. The bodies thus slaine were
fastned to the Gemonian staires,
which bare this name, either frō
the inventor, or from the groanes
which there were heard. It was
as the pillory, the open place of
executions, there the statues, and
pourtraits of the condemned
were set. The Gaole, the Court
where they pleaded, & the Rols
where they registred decrees,
were built neare together; the
staires

staires were in the same place at
the foot of Tiber, wherinto they
cast the bodies.

Seneca and *Dion* differ, the
one saith they dragged his bo-
dy three whole daies, the other
that the same day the Senate ac-
companied him to the Senate
house the people hewed him in
pieces, and that of a man, on
whom Gods and Men had accu-
mulated all that which might
make him great and glorious,
there was nothing left for the
hangman to tye to his hooke, and
cast into Tiber. To reconcile
them I suppose, after her was ex-
ecuted, they set him on those
staires, that the people might see
him, and that in this fury they
dragged him from thence in an
instant, and having distended
him on the banke of Tiber, they
cut him in pieces, or perhaps in
fourteene quarters, as many as
the City had Wards, and that
these pieces were drawne three
N dayes

*Quo die il-
lum Senatus
diduxerat
populus in
in frusta
divisi. Sen.*

*Ex eo nihil
superfuit,
quod carni-
fex trahi-
ret. Sen.*

You must
looke on
P. victor
of the 14.
stations
of Rome
and what
they con-
taine.

dayes together about the City.

All sorts of outrages were don to this miserable body, some through inhumanity, others for revenge, many for example, and all to the end, it might not bee thought, they had either loved, or knowne him. *Juvenal* relateth the discourse, which then was frequent at Rome, for every one gave liberty to his tongue according to his opinion. Behold the prose of his verse.

*I perceiue it is best to dye;
There is no doubt to bee made of it:
The furnace wherein they are to be cast is very large: I met my poore friend Brutidius last day,
neare Mars his Temple, hee was very pale, and much astonished.
I feare lest being called Ajax hee kill himselfe with his owne hand.
But that we may not be taken for friends to Sejanus, and perish without defence, let us run to this body, whilst it lyeth on Tibers banke*

*Perituros
audio mul-
tos, nil du-
bium mag-
na est for-
nacula ut
male defen-
sus &c.
Quum ti-
meo. &c.
Curramus
precipites,
& dum ja-
cet in ripa
caleamus.
Caesaris ho-
stem, &c.
& pau dum
in ius ter-
rice atri-
cia domi-
nam erat.
&c. quis ne
saluari, si-
cuti Seja-
nus? habe-
re.*

banke, and cry out aloud, *We tram-
ple under foot the enemy of Caesar.*

*He who is a servant let him re-
nounce, and forsake his Master,
let him take him by the throat,
with his necke, and drag him all
trembling before the Commissa-
ries. This is the way to save him-
selfe, and be rewarded.*

*The people then made this dis-
course of Sejanus in secret. Woul-
dest thou be followed and courted
like Sejanus, have as much wealth
as he, dispose of dignities, give the
Ivory chaires, command over ar-
mies, be accounted the Governour
of the Prince, dispatch his busines-
ses, whilst he is in the straightened
Grot of Capree, with his troop of
Chaldeans, and Astrologers?*

*Wouldest thou have command
over the company which carrieth
the dart, or three pointed Iavelin?
Wouldest thou command over the
Cavalry, over those bands, which
abide in the palace to guard the
Prince?*

N 2

why

*Tantum-
dem, atque
illi sellas
donare su-
rules.
Illum exer-
citiis pre-
ponere?
iutor
baieri.*

*Principis
angusta
Capitulum
in rupe se-
dentis, cum
gr. &c.
Chaldeas.*

Qui nolunt
occidere
quenquam,
possunt
ut rebus le-
tis par sit
mensura
malorum.

An Fide-
narum, Ga-
biorumque
esse potest:
Et de men-
sura vis
dicere:
Numerosa
parabat.
Excelsa
per à tabu-
lata unde
auctor esset.

Why dost thou not desire it? They that will kill no man, wish to have the power. Every one affecteth honours, and riches, which are notwithstanding such, that the measure of their evils, who pursue them, equalleth the contentment they bring.

Love you better to weare the robe of Sejanus, whom you see dragged in the streets, than to be a Magistrate in the forsaken villages of Fidene, Gabij, or be the Edile of Vlubris, which is almost desolate, and give judgement on measures, and weights, and cause those to be broken which are not lawfull? you must then confesse, that Sejanus hath never knowne what is to be desired; For in pursuing great honours and riches, he did nothing but prepare a scaffold for himselfe on a high Turret to fall downe, and cast himselfe headlong from the top thereof. What overthroweth the Craffi, the Pompeyes, and him, that conquered the Quirites,

Quirites, and scourged them like slaves? Truly, elevated fortunes, to which men mount by wiles and ambitious desires, such as malignant starres raise to ruine those that build them.

Few Tyrants have descended to the sonne in law of Ceres, and a naturall death: Their end was not dry, nor hath blood been spared to moisten it.

Seneca saw this execution, and yet wrote nothing thereof, though he were then of an age to observe it: for he was in Rome fifteene yeares before the death of Augustus. He much wondreth, that of the body of a man of such eminency and magnificence, nothing remained for buriall.

If excessive joy killed a mother, what may extreme sorrow? Apicata was assailed with an incredible griefe, when she saw her children on the Gemonian steps. Cratesiclea, mother of Cleomenes King of Sparta, whole

N 3

head

Summus
nempelotus:
Magnaque
cum rebus
vota exau-
dita malig-
nis. Iuven.

Si ad mor-
tem agit
matris
magnum
gaudium?
quid mag-
nus dolor?
Sen.

Crateficles begged she might be put to death before her children, but the Hangman slue them before her face. *Plur.*

Ordo sceleris per Apicatan Sejano predictus, tormentis Eudemius ac Lygdi patefactus est. Tac.

head *Ptolomie* cut off, and hanged his body on a paire of gallows, seeing her children slaine before her eyes, laid; *Ow! alas, my children, whither are you gone? Apicata* spake to these innocent, which she beheld on this infamous place, *Poore Infants, where are you now?* In this anguish she retired to her house, where she wrote a discourse of *Drusus* his death, sent it to *Tiberius*, which done, she slue her selfe.

She had not stayed so long before she discovered it, had not the love of her children withheld her; for well she knew, that in crimes of treason, they should suffer the like punishment with the father. She accuseth *Sejanus*, *Livilla*, *Lygdius*, and *Eudemus*, these put upon the wheel, (which was the torture) confessed all. *Tiberius* caused divers to be racked, to discover the complices. It was told him there was one arrived, who came from *Rhodes*, and

and forgetting he was a creature of his own, whom he had sent, he presently caused him to be put to the torture, and having found his own errour, commanded he should be killed, that he might not divulge the wrong he had sustained. This was to preserve the reputation of a just Prince, by a notable injustice.

The death of *Sejanus* gave confidence, and safety to *Tiberius*, and when he was moved to chuse twenty Senators to be alwayes neere about him with swords by their sides, he answered; *Life was not so deare to him, that he would submit himselfe to preserve it by armes. But vicious and exorbitant habits passe not away.* And he, not causing his vices to dye before his death, had not the pleasure of seeing his enemies dye before himselfe. He so sensibly resented the remorse of this, that he protested to the Senate he daily dyed. His conditi-

Errore detecto. occidi iussu: ne divulgaret injuriam

Militanti non est ut armis legenda sit. Tac.

*Tandem
facinora, &
flagitia in
supplicium
vertuntur.
Tac.*

*Ut corpora
verberibus,
ita ferus, &
ec libidine
Tyrannorum
animus
dilatatur.
Tac.*

*Erunt Ti-
berio prae-
cipe exogi-
tatum vitri
tempera-
mentum ut
flexibile
esset, &
etiam arti-
ficus offi-
cium aboli-
tam, ne eris,
argenti,
auri, metal-
li pretia
detraherentur.
Plin.*

on was not subject to the judgement of men, but he was convinced in his own conscience, which accused, condemned, and executed him. Whereupon a wise man, who lived in that time, said; *If the souls of Tyrants might be scene, more ulcers would appear through lust, than they made wounds on bodies murdered by their cruelty.* Of all his violences, the most execrable was the death of the Architect: who skilfully re-edified, and repaired the great portall of Rome, and presented a glasse unto him, brake it, and gathering the pieces together, instantly made it up again, having found out the secret that this substance obeyed the last office of fire, and became malleable. *Pliny* sayes, he abolished it, lest gold, silver, and brasse should be the lesse esteemed. What an ornament had it been, if from an hearb, which hath neither beauty, scent, nor is good to taste for man,

man, or beast, a substance should be derived, hard, solid, and transparent?

An invention notwithstanding, which the precedent ages were ignorant of, his admired, and ours ever may deplore, for we shall no more have men, who in this kinde will be grieved, that that, which may benefit posterity should long be concealed. *Tiberius* intermitted none of his profuse, voluptuous, and superfluous expences: He entertained from the sweat and labours of people, infinite numbers, not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the Common-wealth: and caused those to be put to death, whose industry might bring ornament and utility. Oh! what disorder in the times, and men? the reward of an admirable invention is denied, and *Sejanus* selleth one of his Eunuchs for 3500. sesterces. But, that was during the calamity of the Em-

*Priscis tem-
poribus
summum
certamen
inter homi-
nes, ne quid
profuturum
seculis, diu
lateret. Pet.*

*Malus im-
perator qui
ex visceri-
bus, provinci-
alibusq; minis
non neces-
sarios, nec
reipublice
uiles aluit.
Lampr.*

*Injuriam
lucris fecit
in lusu
civilitatis,
quoniam ar-
guere nulli
vacabat.*
Plin.

The most
pleasing
tribute
was the
twentieth,
which is
taken up-
on inheri-
tances,
legacies,
kindred,
and ex-
empt poor
*Extraneis
facile, dome-
sticis grave.*
Plin.

pire, and when no man was suf-
fered to reprove his profusions.

The reigne of *Tiberius* was
much more terrible and cruell
after *Sejanus*, then it had been
before. He would not have the
people repaire by his death, the
evils he had done in his life. *Aug-
ustus* ordained a military trea-
sury, which he filled with three
tributes, as with three living
sources: from the twentieth part
of inheritances, from the twen-
ty-fifth upon the sale of slaves,
from the hundreth of all that
which was in trade. *Tiberius* ha-
ving reduced the kingdome of
Cappadocia into a province,
thought by the increate of this
revenue, the people should be
discharged of so much: and ther-
fore in stead of an hundred, he
decreed they should pay but the
two hundreth part. But after the
death of *Sejanus*, as repenting
himselſe of this favour, he redu-
ced it to the hundreth again. Ne-
cessity

cessity of affairs excused it, which
suffers not tributes to be denied,
it is a fury that catcheth the
State by the throat, if not appea-
led. Those who are constituted,
to stand in the front of employ-
ment, ought to render the people
capable of this verity. If you will
in peace possesse particular bene-
fits, needs must you succour pub-
licke necessities. When *Anthony*
the Triumvir was sent into Asia,
to draw aid from thence, he gave
no other reason, but this. Necessi-
ty will have it so.

Thus (saith he) that you may
not be expelled from your Townes
and Territories, it is fit you give
money for the entertainment of
Souldiers. There is not so much
required, but that you may freely
part with it. You gave in two
yeares, to Brutus and Cassius our
enemies, the tributes of ten: we
need no more to be freed from af-
faires, so you this one time grant it.

He drew from them 200000.
talents

*Da operam,
ut omnes
intelligent
si salvi esse
velint, ne-
cessitati esse
parendum.*
Cic.

M. Ant. in
Asia after
the battell
of Philip-
pi.
*So Themis-
tocles* de-
manding
money of
the Andri-
ans, said to
them, he
was ac-
compani-
ed with
two God-
des, Per-
suasi-
on and
Con-
straint,
Plut.

By the
quality of
tribute, we
may judge
of the

power of
the tribute
giver

*Nec quis
gentium
sine armis,*

*nec arma
sine stipen-*

*dio, nec
stipendia
sine tributis*

*Leggi
quirit.*

*Tac.
Malo enim
dere pecus,
quam de-*

*glubers. D.
Tib.*

talents, which was 20000. yearly, amounting in all to twelve millions.

A Common wealth cannot maintaine it selfe in peace, if it be feeble, nor bee fortified without armes: armes are not entertained without money, and money is not derived, but from tributes. But moderation is therein to be used, and the Prince imitating *Tiberius*, should sheare the sheep, not flay it, and render the dispoſure thereof chaste, sincere, and pure, as drawn from the bloud, sweat, and teares of his people, for expences profitable, necessary, and glorious, not for profusions, which neither afford contentment, nor reputation.

Happy is the Prince, who findeth honest men, whom he may trust with the care of his Exchequers, wheron dependeth the honour of his designs, the Majesty of his Crown, the tranquillity of his State: For they are,
both

both the nerves which give motion, and the veines which entertain life, & as by the resolution, and shrinking of nerves, the physicall body is many times deprived of motion and sense: So the politicke without money cannot stirre, nor support it selfe: In a word, with revenues one accomplisheth, and comes to the end of all. He that hath the last Crown gains the triumph. They are sacred, the charge of them is given to *Saturn*, or to his Temple. *Cæsar* had not known how to ruine liberty, if he had not begun by this sacriledge, robbing the treasury of the Republicke, which was filled with all the spoyles of the Orient, and that which the *Fabricii*, the *Scipio's*, the *Cato's*, the *Pompey's* had by their victories acquired. The first note of the desolation of a State is drawn from the unjust, and irregular administration of revenues.

*Tunc conditus imo
eruitur
Templo,
multis inta-
ctus ab annis
Romani
census popu-
li. Euc.*

It

Res familiaris in rebus quaeratur à quibus est carpitudo. Cic. Convivio, rum luxuria, & vestitium, agra civitatis indicia sunt Sen.

Hoc in republica comminatum Catilinarium. Cic.

It is not enough, that such as have the charge thereof be vigilant, to make the expence not exceed the receipt, but it much importeth the State the meanes of particulars be husbanded without excesse, with order and modesty, as they ought to be acquired with honesty and justice. The disorders which are observed in apparrell, dyet, buildings, curiosities, and superfluity of private houses, are symptoms not onely of a sick, but a dying State. Troubles and seditions are commonly supported by the despaire of forlorne people, and such as have nothing to lose, of which condition were those, who entered into conspiracy with *Catiline*. Great and excessive were the confusions during the reigne of *Tiberius*; but such as were derived from former times; for he was wont to say, The Romans learned to dispend their owne meanes in civill wars, and the wealth

wealth of others among strangers. It is an admirable thing, that having provided against so many other exorbitancies, he would not correct the ryot and dissolution, which overflowed through the contempt of Somptuary Lawes. Was not this because he would not begin the example of reformation in his own house, surfettted with superfluities, or by reason disorder was grown into custome, and discipline; or that he would not unprofitably, and without effect, draw publicke dis-affection upon himselfe. His greatest reason was, not, to expose his commands to contempt, nor open the veine, before he had the fillet ready to stanch the bloud.

These remarkable words which he spake to the Senate on this occasion, should be represented to Kings, as often as they institute lawes, the effects whereof were difficult and doubtfull. *A Prince ought*

Non sum offensionum avidus. pro Rep. vsuspicio, inanes & irritas jure deprecor. Tac.

*Omittenda
potius pra-
valida &
adulta viti-
a, quam hoc
adsequi ut
palam fiat,
quibus fia-
giliis im-
pares simus*
Tac.

*Quam male
est extra le-
gem viven-
tibus: quic-
quid meru-
erunt sem-
per expe-
ctant.* Petr.

ought rather to dissemble an inveterate disorder, and which is of much consequence, than to put his authority in bazard, and suffer his weaknesse publikely to appeare, especially when they are matters, which he cannot remedy.

After the execution of *Sejanus*, the Senate commanded the statue of liberty to be erected in the open Market place, and that every yeare on the same day *Sejanus* was put to death, a Combat on horse-backe should bee exhibited, and many beasts there slaine. A thing never done before. They likewise prohibited excessive honours to be conferred on any man, or to sweare by other name, than that of the Emperour.

All the friends of *Sejanus* ran his fortune, and received what they expected. The prisons were filled, some condemned to death, others banished, all deprived of their offices. The City seemed

a

a field, where nothing was to be seene but mangled bodies, or Ravens which rent them.

Tiberius was so accustomed to executions, that he caused all those to be put to death, who in prison were accused to have any intelligence with *Sejanus*: there were laid on the pavement an infinite number of dead men of all ages and conditions, eminent, noble, plebeian: It not being permitted any man to stand still to behold them, nor retire to bewaile them, for both the one and the other were reputed a crime. *Vitia* was punished with death, for having lamented her sonne *Geminus*: and because women were not to bee accused for attempting on the state, their teares were accounted criminall.

Sorrow was judged by the countenance, and grieve by the vehemency of passion, in such sort, that the bodies which *Tiber*

*Jacuit im-
mensa strag-
es, omnis
sexus, om-
nis aetas,
illustres, ig-
nobiles.*
Tac.

*Famine
quia occu-
panda rei-
pub. argui
non pote-
rant obla-
crimas in-
cusabantur.*
Tac.

*Intercide-
rat sortis
humane
commerci-
um, ut me-
lus quan-
tumque se-
vitie glis-
ceret, mise-
ratione
arcebatur.*
Tac.

ber cast up to the shore, remained there without buriall: so much had feare dissolved commerce between nature, and compassion.

There was not a man who disavowed not the friendship of *Sejanus*. One only Roman Knight, *Marcus Terentius* accused to have beene his friend, freely protested it, when the rest made semblance to renounce it. And thus he spake before the Senate.

Marcus Terentius his speech.

If were perhaps more expedient for my fortune to deny the crime, whereof I am accused, than confesse it, but hap what will I professe to have beene *Sejanus* his friend, I desire to be so, and much reioyce to have gained his favour. I saw him a Colleague with his Father in the charge of the Pretorian Cohorts, and that hee in one

and

*Austus est
amplecti
amicitiam,
quam ceteri
falso ex-
uerant. Tac*

*Minus ex-
pedit agnos-
cere crimen,
quam abnu-
ere.*

There were 4. in the City, 3. in the garrisons. *Caton*, qui novissimi consilii expersissimus, non animi discrimine defendam: Tac.

and the sametime managed the affaires both of peace and warre: That those who were his most intimates, were powerfull in the Emperours grace, and the rest perpetually in terrour, and the miserable condition of men accursed.

I will not here produce any man for an example, but with the sole bazard of my life defend all those, who have had no part in his last designs. For we did not our service to *Sejanus* of *Valsinium*, but we followed the fortune of the house of *Claudius*, whereof hee by alliance, was become the head. We (*Cæsar*) honoured your Sonne in Law, your associate in the Consulship, and him who exercised your commands in the common wealth.

It is not for us to judge, what he ought to be, nor for what cause you raised him above others. The Gods have given you the sovereign dispose of affaires: Nothing remaineth

*Non est nostrum
astimare
quem supra
ceteros, et
quibus de
causis ex-
tolas. Tibi-
summum
rerum judi-
cium di de-
dere: nobis
obsequii
gloria reli-
cta est. Tac.*

Abditos?
principis sen-
sus, & si
quid occul-
tus parat,
exquirere
illicitum.
Tac.

maineth for us herein, but the on-
ly glory of obedience. We consi-
der what we see, on whom you con-
fer riches, and honours; and who
can hurt or advantage us, and no
man can deny, but Sejanus was all
this. It is not lawful to penetrat the
deepe intentions of the Prince, nor
what in secret he aimeth at: That
is, doubtfull, we therefore attempt
it not. Thinke not on this last day
of Sejanus, but the sixteene yeares
of his prosperity. In that time we
honoured Satrius and Pomponi-
us, his freed men: and it was
thought a glorious thing to bee
knowne by his servants, yea, his
Porter. What then shall we make
no difference betweene those who
have served Sejanus, as the
Emperours creature, and such as
followed him in his designs, as
an enemy of the Empire?

It is necessary this distinction
be reduced into its just limits, to
the end the treasons and conspira-
cies against the state, and plots
con-

Insidie in
vemp. con-
cilia cedis
adversum
imperato-

concerning the Emperors life may
be punished, but for the friendship
you have borne him. and the ob-
servances we afforded him, and
the same reason ought (oh
Cæsar) to discharge both you and
us.

The boldnesse, and constancy
of his speech which contained
the thoughts of others, was of so
great force, that such as were ac-
cused as friends to Sejanus, were
distinguished from his Confede-
rates; and Cæsar applauded to
have confirmed the decree of the
Senate, for the innocency of Te-
rentius, who loved not his
friend to hate, or disavow
him.

Lentulus Genlicus took a clean
contrary course from Varro. A-
budius Rufus accused him to have
treated the marriage of his daugh-
ter with the son of Sejanus, this
man was in Germany in great
esteeme, and authority for his
mildnesse and modesty. He spake

ram punian-
tur, de ami-
cisia: &
officiis, idē,
& te Cæ-
sar, & nos
absolverit.
Tac.

Scipio said
the worst
word
might be
encoun-
tered in
friendship
was that,
which
would
have a
friend
love, as if
he should
hate. Cic.

a far off on horse-backe, and in armies, for which cause *Tiberius* condemned and exiled his accuser, an act of the wisdom of a Prince, never to threaten him, who is out of his danger.

Getulicus was hereof advertised, and knowing the humour of *Tiberius*, (who when he fell upon a resolution, seldome flew from it, but according to the temper of his anger pressed, or retarded his revenge) let him know, he was in such a state, he would nor forget his owne safety for anothers, and so sent him this letter, as insolent, as confident.

Cæsar, the alliance I contracted with *Sejanus*, hath not beene upon my owne motion, but your advice: It may be I am deceived as well as you: but one, and the same fault ought not to discharge one, and ruine another. My loyalty hath hitherto beene untainted, nor ever shall change, if some fa-

Elion

Getulicus effusum clementia, modicus severitate, mirum amorem adsecutus.

Tac.

Confidēce doth not alwaies proceed from courage, but from place and caution.

Idem error principis sine fraude aliis exitio non est habendus.

Tac.

Elion be not prepared against me, and whosoever shall succeed mee in my charge, I will receive him as one, who attempted on my life. Let us accord as by way of treaty; take you the rest of the Empire, & my government.

Nothing but distance excused the incivility of this letter. Hee was the only man among the friends of *Sejanus*, that escaped. *Tiberius* cast his eyes downward, and shrugged his shoulder, for his affaires were more maintained by reputation, than power. His fraile decrepit age cut off his hopes, and publike hatred augmented his jealousies.

Mamercus Scaurus was likewise one of *Sejanus* his friends, but this amity had not so much power to ruine him, as the malice of *Macro*, who was no lesse violent, than the other to rid himselfe of his enemies, but he therein proceeded with more cun-

Succesorem non aliter quam indicium mortis accepit.

Tac.

Princeps cæterarum rerum poritur, ipse provinciam retineam. Tac. *Publico odio & extrema atrox principis stant magis fama, quam vi.*

Tac.

Haud minus validum ad exitum Macrois odium qui easdem artes occultis exercebat.

*Mamecius
Scawus
ancillarum
mensuram
ore bianie
acceptabat.
Sen.*

*P. Vitellius
erarii pre-
fectus mili-
tarem pe-
cuniam re-
bus novis
obtulit.
Tac.*

*Crebris pro-
lationibus
spem, &
metum jux-
ta grava-
tus. Tac.*

cunning, and secrecy. He was worthy of the friendship of *Sejanus*, for the conformity of his humours, to the others lusts, which *Seneca* representeth to be so brutish, that the only thought of them, polluteth the mind; hee staid not till condemnation, but followed the advice of *Sextia* his Wife, who perswaded him to kill himselfe.

P. Vitellius, who stoutly had supported the cause of *Germanicus* against *Piso*, was accused to have delivered to *Sejanus* the treasure of the common wealth, for he was one of the overseers of the Exchequer. His brothers answered for him, but seeing his processe continued long, he was much perplexed to languish betweene hope and feare, and so opened a veine with a Bodkin. His friends stanchd the bloud and staid the spirits in their passage, much troubled to remaine in a body, which pleasing it selfe in

in turmoiles, was resigned to sorrow, and heavinesse.

Pomponius was sicke, in the same hospitall with the rest, but his patience made him survive *Tiberius*, who would have put him to death, because *Velius Gallus* had retired into his garden, when they dragged *Sejanus*.

Tiberius bewailed *Sejanus*, not for the losse of him, but his owne interest, for whilest he lived all the blame was laid on him, whatsoever hee did eyther of injustice or cruelty, and after his death no man shared with him, in the generall hatred.

As much as the prosperity of *Sejanus* was admired, so much his fall bred terrour, and amazement. Never any man before him, received greater Honours, more vniversall, more unexpected, and all the favours, and dignities, which the Kings of Europe could heape together, to

*In custodia
morbo perit
Suet.
Vitam agri-
tudine ani-
mi finivit.
Tac.*

*Honoribus
functus es?
Numquid
aut tam
magnis, aut
tam univ-
ersis, quam
Sejanum?
Sen.*

*Diu mul-
tunque
singulis
quid posset,
ostendit.
Sen.*

*Clausum
in iri aut
fluminibus
longinquis
imperium.*

raise a man, might not be compared with these. He made all men know farre and neare, what he was able to doe. He sixteen yeares possessed the Sovereign power of an Empire, that commanded the whole world, and which had the rising and setting Sun, for limits. *Euphrates* confined its frontier towards the East, Mount *Atlas*; the Cataracts of *Nilus*, the Desarts of Africa towards the South; the Ocean in the West, *Danubius* in the North: so that, as far, as the Sun progressed, his commands went. What glory ever mounted so high, or fell so low?

He that should see a lofty mountaine, commanding over a goodly plaine to be swallowed up, to sink, and be ingulfed in a moment, would be amazed, yet were not that more strange, than to behold these great Colossus, overthrown in an instant. This breedeth astonishment, yet is the example

To see great men fall, is to behold mountains made level.

example neglected. Every one trusteth his own judgment, thinking to walk the same way, but with another pace, and more securely than others. One ship alone, which shall happily return from a long navigation, is able to encourage an hundred men to attempt the like voyage; and the shipwrack of an hundred vessels, is not of power to divert one alone: For, no man beleeves ill luck is ordained for him.

Macro Captain of the Guard, and *Laco* Master of the watch, were much better advised, the Senate decreed large honours to them, for this their good service. To the first the office of Pretor, with power to sit in the rank of Senators, with a purple robe in sports, and publicke assemblies, and to the second, the office of Questor: they refused them, and *Dion* findeth out the reason of their denyall, upon the terrour of an example so fresh.

O 2

They

Every one thinks to doe the best, and to carry himselfe more wisely, than they who are undone.

Great services for the State ought to be paid with honour, not money.

Optimum est aliena infamia frui. Plinie
There are some can never be wise by any example, but their owne ruine.

Nemo unquam imperium flagitio acquiritur, bonis artibus exercuit.

Tac.
Avarus de Luna said to those who admired his fortune with the King of Castile.

They thought it would be a great imprudence, to fall upon the same shelte, whereon *Sejanus* was shipwracked. *It is better to be taught by the mishap of another, than our own. Wise men make use of the disgrace and detriment, which they see others suffer.* And as Treacle is compounded of vipers, and wholesome remedies are drawn from poyson; so from the ruines and miseries of the wicked, honest men may derive precepts for direction.

Sejanus shall alwaies be alledged for a prodigious example of extreme insolence, and unfortunate ambition: and his tragicall end will instruct us, that, *Power ill gotten, is never well used: That we must not judge of felicity, till death, nor of the day, before night, nor of the building, till it be finished.*

Death,

Death, Fortune, Time, and the Course thereof, change in a moment. Favour acquired by merit, or good fortune, is lost by insolence, and the most secure cannot subsist, but by support of the Prince.

You do ill to praise the building before it be finished.

O 3 Vn-

Unhappy Prosperity :

O'R,

Philippa the Catanian.

Written in French by *P. Mathieu;*

And

Translated into English

BY

S^r. T. H. HAWKINS.

Second Edition.

JUVENAL,

— *Optata exegit gloria pœnas.*

LONDON,

Printed by *Thomas Harper,*

1639.

To the King.

Sir,

Havow raised this Ca-
tanian from dust to
glory, and pride
threw her headlong from glory
into dust againe. I present this
History to your Majesty, as of a
Monster of fortune, which you
may peruse for Curiosity, others
for Instruction: For (verily) it
is a Modell, which figureth the
Shipwracke of those, who strike
not saile to decline the Tempest.

P. Mathieu.



Advertisement.



Boccace, the Florentine is the Author of this History, in his last Booke, De casibus virorum illustrium, and he relateth it upon the credit of his owne eyes, and of two old Captaines, Marinus of Bulgaria, and Constantino de la Rocca, who knew her in the Court of Robert King of Naples. I conferred it, upon the first impression in France, with an ancient Manuscript, and with that which Iohn Ant. Summoto wrot of it.

It is a tragicall effect of the inconstancy of Fortune no lesse cunning in her Deceits, than giddy in her Favours. Shee could not raise this Woman from a more despicable degree, nor precipitate her from an higher, To shew, The Ascent to great Prosperities is of Glasse, the Top a Terror, and Descent a Precipice.

Vn-



Unhappy PROSPERITY.



States are as soone ruined by weake instruments, as violent attempts, and when the just anger of God will overthrow them, he doth not alwaies make use of his three-forked thunder, he therein employes nought else, but rats, frogs, and flies.

This truth affords more proofs and examples in the history of the Kings of Naples of the royall house of *Anjou*, than any other of that time, where may be seen what abject persons have made the

The ruine of States proceedeth from hidden causes, much more dangerous than the apparant. By feeble meanes God confoundeth proud power.

the prosperity of this flourishing Kingdome to rotter, which was maligned by the most warlike people of the earth.

The Pope gave the title of it to *Charles Earle of Anjou*, and *Provence*: brother of *Saint Lewis*, but his valour alone got the possession thereof, which never was disturbed in his royall posterity, but through desperate counsels. That this History may be well understood, we must unfold the memorials of the warres of Sicily, between the Kings of Naples, and Aragon.

After the barbarous and inhumane Vespres of Sicily, *Peter King of Aragon* who was much blamed to have counselled and countenanced this cruelty, drew a powerfull Army together, dissembling his designe to covertly, that the Pope careful to preserve publicke tranquillity, demanding of him what he would doe with it? he answered that should

The kingdome of Naples possessed by Grecians, Sarazins, Normans, Almaines, French, and Arragonians.

Massacre of the French in Sicily on Easter Tuesday, 29. of March, 1282.

should his shirt know his secret, he would burne it, yet notwithstanding suffered the bruit to run currant, it was to passe into *Africke*.

Charles beleev'd it, not imagining he had any plot upon Sicily, or that he would hinder him from chastising the Sicilians, who had added exorbitant cruelty to furious rebellion. He besiegeth the City of *Messina*, which turning its defence into submission and humility, begged pardon: but he still persisting in the impetuous thirst of revenge, grants them nothing at all, but the same conditions they had afforded the French. The Popes Legate intreats him to rest satisfied with their repentance, and to consider, that extreme rigour is a cure unseasonable: he will understand nothing contrary to his resolution, lest hope of impunity might cherish rebellion. Besides he promised himselfe that by humbling

All warlike preparation of a Prince is suspected by neighbors

It is an ill example to hinder a Prince in the chastisement of his rebellious subjects.

No motion in the soule is more active, than anger, more violent than revenge.

In what manner soever a subject repenteth, clemency ought to be preferred before rigour.

Princes many times are glad that subjects rebell, that so they may give them for-tresses to bridle them and take away their priviledges.

humbling this City, all the rest were conquered, and peradventure he was well enough pleased to have pretence to punish their faults, so to take away the priviledges they enjoyed, which verily were sharp thorns in the eyes of the Kings of Sicily, they paying no other tribute, but what they accustomed under *William* the first, King of Sicily, *In matter of popular commotion among those who are absolutely subject, you must goe before the offence, and hinder them from doing amisse, but in others who live betweene servitude and liberty, you were better expect a revolt than prevent it, that you may have just occasion to despoile them of their priviledges.* The Pope pitied the *Messinians*, and *Charles*, not to render him selfe implacable, sweetned his anger. He pardoned them, on condition the besieged should send him 800. men to dispose of them at his discretion,

discretion. This article was so harsh amongst them, that they protested they would rather eat their wives, and children, burne them as the people of *Araspus*, and throw themselves into the flames after them, than give consent thereunto. The wives to encourage the husbands to a common defence, presented their children, conjuring them not to leave them to the inhumanities wherewith they were threatned. They spake of nothing but stones, and spared not to carry many to the top of the wals, to knock down the approchers.

Peter of Arragon entreth into Sicily under the title of occasion and opportunity. For he had not any, but that of *Constantia* his wife, who had the title of *Manfredus* her father, and *Manfredus*, of invasion. *Private thefts are punished: It is a Kingly worke to invade another, and in great power, strength usurpes the place of reason.*

The *Ara-*
spians be-
ing besie-
ged by the
Romans
burnt their
wives,
their chil-
dren, and
their
goods,
then de-
sperately
fell upon
the assai-
lants, that
themselves
might be
killed in
killing
their
enemies.
Private
houses
only think
how to
preserve
their own,
Princely
how to
invade
others.

The Sicilians found the Catalonians harsh, proud, and untractable.

Gaultier of Calatagirona declares against the Arragonians, who took him, and hanged him.

reason. Messina is succoured. Charles enforced to retire with much sorrow, not to have tempered his anger, and accepted the offer, which had assured him of the whole Island without a blow stricken. Then was the time his tongue did him ill service, for had it not discovered his heart, all Sicily would have stooped to his obedience. Other Cities fearing the like punishment having done the same fault, followed the resolution of the Messinians, and opened the gates to the Arragonians, who presently handled these people so harshly and haughtily that they wished for the French againe. Those of Calatagirona, tooke armes against them, and *Alaimus Leoninus* chiefe Iustice wrote to *Charles*, that if he sent him but ten Gallies, he would restore Sicily unto him: but he would not trust them, who were dishonoured with so notorious a trechery.

Charles

Charles seeing Fortune with one so violent a kick of her foot had thrown down all his designs, sought pretence of reason, and finding no cause of anger, or quarrell more just than the invasion of a Kingdome, besought the Pope to admit he might combat with *Peter* of Arragon in single Duell, to determine by the death of one, a difference, which might be the death of many. The Pope seeing *Peter* of Arragon would not submit to reason, left him to the hazard of arms. *Charles* sent him the lye and defiance. *Peter* refused not to measure his sword with *Charles*. They agree to take Bourdeaux for the place of Combat, and the King of England for Iudge, an hundred Captaines of either part for Spectators, and Sicily for Trophiey of victory. *Charles* testified his courage by shewing himselfe twice in the field, and *Peter* his prudence by accepting the combat

He who will not be angry for the losse of a Crown, will not be troubled at any thing.

Simon Leoninus a Dominican Frier carried the letter of challenge.

The King of England at that time held Guyen.

The Combat appointed in the month of May in the year 1283. *Charles* retireth out of the field upon notice, that *Peter* was so far off he could not come the next day, yet arrived the same day, and put his army, and lance into the hands of the English Marshall.

bat to withdraw his enemy, who in Sicily drew neare unto him. He came to Tours, but it was after he knew *Charles* was departed, leaving registred with the Marshall of England, that he had expected his enemy from morning untill night.

He complaineth to the Pope, that *Peter* of Arragon put a scorne upon him that he will neither plead, nor restore. The Pope excommunicateth him as an Vsurper upon the rights of the Church, gives his Kingdome to *Charles*, proclaimes open wars against him, and begins it with more reputation, than prosperity. *Peter* of Arragon surpriseth the Ile of Malta, and his Admirall the Gallies of Naples, with *Charles* Prince of Salerno the Kings son, whom he sends prisoner to Barcellon, drawes neare to Naples, terrifies, and amuseth mindes so much, that if *Charles* had not speedily hastned thither, the

the gates had been opened to him. His presence gives confidence to honest men, and terror to the seditious, he caused a hundred and fifty of them to be hanged, and had he not considered that there is not any man so miserable who is not a member of the State, punishment had taken away a much greater number, which had he omitted, he should have made a new world through the difficulty of distinction between good subjects and rebels, and children from servants: for as those are not chastised by blows, so are the other so refractory they cannot be appeased with sweetnesse.

Fortune being now wholly turned against him, his army was discomfited before Rheggio, and he raising another to recover Sicily, the sorrow of his forepast losses staid him, dissolved his designe, and ended his life.

Fortune exacted so rough interests

The defeat, and taking of *Charles* on the fifth of August 1284.

It is written that he in his anger commanded to put fire amongst the Neapolitans, *Gerrard* of Parma the Popes Legate appeased him, and shewed that how much the more faults were great, so much the more, clemency is commendable.

If I must needs fall (said Charles) I pray God it may be handfomly. He who is the cause of his own suffering may onely thanke himselfe. In the same army died Pope Martin the fourth, Charles the first King of Naples, Peter of Arragon, Philip the Hardy. Charles the first King of Naples caused the head of Conradinus

interests from the contentments she had given him, that in these his last agonies, seeing the precipice inevitable, he sought nothing but to descend into it after his own manner without either being urged, or forced. He (as having wilfully concurred to his own unhappinesse) endeavoured not to seek out elsewhere, than in himselfe, the causes of his suffering.

It is impossible to live in the world without adversity, but it much importeth to understand for what cause we suffer, what the expectation is, and to what purpose we suffer, for if it be not innocently, patience is difficult, and comforts are superfluous. He died at Foggia the seventh of January, 1284. Charles the second losing the King his father, must of necessity part both with life and kingdome. The Queen Constantia was counselled to let him dye under the hands of an executio-

ner

ner to revenge the death of her Nephew; so that upon this advice, (see on a Friday fore him word hee must prepare himselfe to the same punishment which his Father had inflicted on Conradinus. Hee answered, *I am most ready to dye for the love of him, who upon the same day suffered for me.* This generous and Christian answer touched the Queens heart, who replied: For the same respect he would dye, I will have him live. But to qualifie this inveterate choler, and violent thirst to revenge the death of Conradinus, she commanded the heads of two hundred gentlemen prisoners to be cut off.

At four years end he was freed from captivity, and left there three of his children, Lewis, Robert, and John, for hostages, and regaining with his liberty, one Kingdome (accounted as lost) he found another which he expected

grandchild of the Emperour Fredericke to be cut off, on the 26. of October. 1269.

Cruelty is an inveterate anger.

Hungary was miserable under *Ladislaus*, and the Nobility enforced to till the ground *Charles Martell* sonne of *Charles 2.* King of Naples & *Mary* daughter of *Stephen* King of Hungary. All ambition is insatiable, for it begins where it should end.

An attempt upon the King of Hungary at Vis-

ted not. The Hungarians having put *Ladislaus* their King to death for his libidinous life, and cruelties, *Charles Martell* was crowned King of Hungaria, as sonne of *Mary*, sister of *Ladislaus*.

But because the sweetest contentments are steeped in the roughest acerbities, and for that strange accidents succeed unexpected events, a Neopolitan Gentleman named *Felix*, the only Privado in the secrets, and favours of *Charles*, undertooke, not, to share with him, Sovereigne authority, which is not divisible; but to bereave him both of Crowne, and life to possesse it himself wholly; so hard a thing it is for a great fortune to containe it self within the limits of reason, and to find contentment in ambition. Pressed on by this fury, he assaileth the King on an Easter day, sets his sword to his throat, and wounds him in

the

the arme; his couragious wife, daughter of the Emperour *Rodolphus*, diverting the blow, had foure of her fingers cut, his children were saved, for the conspiracy was to raise a new house. This miserable creature is punished with his complices, children, and allies, in the detestation of so execrable animpietic. There cannot too many tortures, nor tormentors be mustered up together to punish these horrible assassins: It is fit the punishment be such, that in ruining the culpable by strokes, it may humble the rest by astonishment.

After the death of *Alonsus* King of Arragon *James* and *Frederick* his brothers sought peace with the Church by the mediation of *Charles* King of Naples, offering the confirmation of former treaties. They could not make choyce of a more powerful intercession, for all the Coun-

P

cels

grad on Easter day. *Clementia* Queene of Hungary daughter of the Emperour *Rodolphus* the first, and mother of *Clementia* married to *Lewis Hun-*

Rigor of punishment in ruining the wicked should terrifie others.

Martine the fourth excommu-
nicateth *Peter* of
Arragon, and gives
his King-
dome to
Charles of
Valois.
It is much
more easie
to treat
with a sim-
ple and ig-
norant
man, than
a wise, and
wary.
Election
of *Celestine*
in a con-
clave at
Peruge, in
the yeare.
1294.
He accep-
teth it by
the solici-
tation of
Charles
King of
Naples.

cels of *Charles* were much esteem-
ed at Rome, and his advises
honoured: yea, even in the ele-
ction of Popes. Hee laboured
their absolution, and proposed it
to Pope *Celestine* the fifth, who
hearing speech of absolving an e-
nemy of the Church, refused it as
a great scandall, because indeed
it was a long time since this
thunder stroke fel upon the house
of Arragon. He so much feared
to erre, that he acted nothing but
in feare, which proceeded from
his disproportion to affaires: For
the truth is, the most feasible,
and facile, ever present them-
selves as rough and obscure to
such as understand them not.

It was the blessed man *Petrus*
Moronus, whom *Charles* had
drawn from the Cell, to reple-
nish the vacant See; the Cardi-
nals having beene two yeares
unable to fall upon an accord
in the election. But hee better
understood himselfe, than they
who had chosen him: For be-

ing much troubled with the care
of his owne soule, and unwilling
to undergo the charge of others,
he tooke his profession into con-
sideration, weighed his owne
duty, and represented the justice
of his Master, who being offen-
ded, is not more sharply dis-
pleased with any, than him to
whom he committeth the man-
nage of his affaires, and of whom
he requires a most strict ac-
count. For which cause he pul-
led off the Myter, & threw him-
selfe into his Hermitage. Hee
had beene haled from the port
into the storme, and now re-
turnes out of the tempest, into
the haven. *He who cannot live*
in the day-light, must abide in the
shadow. *Charles* caused him to
come to Naples, to divert him
from this retirement, but could
not: For Cardinall *Cajetan*, of a
more unresistable and prevailing
spirit, making him beleieve he in-
curred the hazard of his owne

God re-
quires the
greatest
account of
him, to
whom hee
gives the
greatest
charge.

This ex-
ample is
aptle.
There is
none but
Celestine
hath for-
taken that
which he
may
think af-
ter.

Cardinall *Benedict* of *Anagnia* deceived *Pope Celestine*, and put himselfe into his place at Naples, and fearing he would reassume it againe, deprived him of life in prison.

Princes leave, but it is ever with a purpose to have againe.

salvation, to entertaine a charge any longer, whereof hee found himself incapable, thrust himself into his place, possessed the See a whole yeare at Naples, where during his abode, *Charles* accomplished his negotiation of restoring *James* and *Fredericke* into the communion of the Church; *Pope Boniface* the eighth consented unto it, so they would wholly, and without hope of regaining, forsake Sicily. They thereunto accorded, upon promise made by *Charles*, that hee should procure the Count of *Valois* to renounce the right he had to the Kingdome of *Arragon*. The fruit of this treaty was the restitution of Sicily, the returne of three Princes left Hostages, and the marriage of *Blanch* Princessse of Naples, to *James* King of *Arragon*. King *Charles* conducted his daughter to *Barcellona*, there to behold her husband, and to take his three sonnes away

way with him; but of three hee had but two; for the eldest being of the age of one and twenty forsooke both the World and Court, and in the midst of the universall joy for peace, & solenities of marriage, tooke the habit of Saint *Francis*, in the presence of the King of Naples his Father, the King of *Arragon* his Father in Law, Queenes and Princesses. It was impossible to divert him from this resolution, and that he might not be charmed by the Syrens of Court, he affixed himselfe to the Standard of the Crosse. Every one was much amazed at this alteration, for he was the eldest of his brothers, the Crowne of Naples infallibly belonged to him, they would have married him to the Princessse of *Majorica*, he left *Roses* to make a conserve of *Thornes*, Delights for *Austerity*, and the Court for a *Cloyster*. He raised his heart to God upon two wings, Simplicity, and

Prince *Le-wis* taketh the habit of Saint *Francis* at *Barcellona*.

Seneca saith that voyce must be avoyded, which *V-tytes* would not heare, but whilst he was fastned to the mast of a ship.

After the
yeare of
probation,
he presented
himself
to the
Convent
of Mompelher,
who refused
him, lest they
might
offend the
King his
father.

Treaties
drawn on
by necessity
last
not long.

Repentance
waiteth on
headlong
counsels.

Purity; the one is in the intention, the other in affection, simplicity seeketh for God, purity findeth him. In this habit, he on the feast of all Saints made a Sermon, shewing all prosperities of the world were but trifles, and counterfeit gems, compared with eternall felicity. He dyed at the age of foure and twenty, on his birth day, being the nineteenth of August, in the yeare 1293. and was canonized by Pope *John* the two and twentieth, in the yeare 1316.

This peace which had cost much bloud, money, and time, lasted but a little while; For seeing, that, which is done by force continueth no longer, but during the space we cannot resist necessity, *Frederick* thirsting after Sicily, which he had left, began the warre afresh upon the first occasion, but shame and losse (undoubted fruits of rash counsels) recompenced the breach

breach of the treaty with punishment.

The King of Arragon is summoned to joyne his forces with *Charles*, to constrain his brother to observe it. *Fredericke* lost twenty five gallies, sixe thousand men, and had there left his liberty, if the Catalonians had not afforded him passage for his safety, thinking they were more obliged to the bloud of one of their Princes, than to the succour of the King of Naples. *It is no act of providence to employ those against an enemy, who are of the same Nation: for in times of necessity they set upon him, whom they should defend.*

Fredericke haughty and yong, whose courage could never despaire of victory, nor ever feare death, unwilling to retire upon his discomfiture, prepareth a fresh Army, and returns into Sicily. *Charles* the second lent *Robert* his sonne Duke of Calabria,

The King
of Arra-
gon sum-
moned to
constraine
his bro-
ther to
observe
the treaty.
Auxilia-
ries soon
revolt.

It is a great advantage to fight with an enemy, whom hee hath once before vanquished. That is it, which *Scipio* said to the Romans on the day of battell against *Annibal*. *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, prisoner at *Panormo* in the yeare 1299.

Calabria, to encounter with him on the Frontiers. He transported with an over-weening opinion of victory, which easily deceiveth young Souldiers, imagined that going about to fight with those whom his father had vanquished, he had not to doe with enemies, but with the relicts of their defeature. He enters into Sicily, encourageth his troops to march, fight, and vanquish, but is overthrowne, *Philip* Prince of Tarentum his brother taken prisoner, and Calabria lost.

Robert gathering the rest of his forces together, beleaguers *Drepany*, and in this siege it was, where God offended with this house, began to give way to the ruine of it, by meanes which testifie the most feeble Instruments are in his hands, powerfull Engines to demolish the greatest States.

Violante Duchesse of Calabria was in the field to beare her husband

band company, and to give example to the Souldiers by her constancy and courage, suffering even in the time of her being with childe, the sollicitudes and toyles of a siege. She was there delivered of her second sonne named *Lewis*, and the immutable decree of humane accidents, which depend on a superiour Law, would needs have it for the much greater unhappinesse of this flourishing Kingdome, that there could not be found any woman fit to breed this Prince, but a creature so despicable, as that she got her living by being a Laundresse, and her husband daily stood upon the promontory of a rock, to catch fish with an angling rod.

She was young, her countenance sweet, which made all the rest amiable, her proportion strong and vigorous, and stature little inferiour to a tall stripling. Besides, poverty added some fa-

So *Agrippina* accompanied *Germanicus* into *Almagne*, and in occasions encouraged Souldiers by her valour. Fishing is an abject condition, the Grecians call it a miserable wandering in the sea.

The lesse delicate nourishment is, the more vigorous is the nourishment.

For being
neere the
proud
Typhæus.
Carthagen
hath the
sulphur,
and drinks
the smoke
of it. *Sat.*

A poore
man sud-
denly en-
riched,
hath much
adoe to
governe
himselſe
in riches.

vour to her election; for it is thought, her manner of living free from exceſſe and curioſity, rendred her complexion much ſtronger, and her conſcience the more ſimple. Having derived no name from the place of her birth, ſhe took that of Catania, her country, and was called *Philippa* the Catanian; and as this City is unhappily ſituated neare Mount *Ætna*, which vomiteth fire and ſulphur upon its neighbors, ſo her greateſt infelicity was to have approached this fire of favour, which in the end turned her into aſhes. Euſo ſoon as ſhe had drunk in the enchanted cup of the Court, her primitive innocence degenerated into an ardent thirſt of greatneſſe, in ſuch ſort, that in ſtead of ſuffering the incommodities of want in the abject condition of her ſtate, ſhe knew not how to beare affluence o' happineſſe in this her firſt fortune: *For it is not ſo hard a mat-*

ter

ter for the rich to endure poverty, as for the penurious to accord with riches.

The ſiege of Drepany having continued ſome time, the beſieged were ſuccoured by *Fredericke*, and *Robert* conſtrained to returne to Naples, with a ſmaller company, and much leſſe contentment than he marched forth withall, whereat King *Charles* his father became greatly diſpleaſed, and ſad: and ſeeing injuries are weighed according to the quality of the perſons, who either do, or receive them, it was a very diſtaſtfull thing with *Charles*, to ſee that a King of Arragon had put ſuch harſh affronts upon the Kings of Naples; boaſting to have furniſhed out the triumphs both of their Crowns, and Princes. And although the warre was between King and King, hee notwithstanding thought a King of Arragon could not enter into compariſon with him,

The King
of Arragon
took Sici-
ly from
King
Charles the
firſt, had
his ſonne,
pr. ſoner,
and his
grand-
child the
Prince of
Tarentum

The Arragonians chose *Peter Tarrus* for their King, and took the Crowne from him to give it to *Ramirez*, bastard of *Ranchoz*, King of Castile, began to reigne in the year 1017.

him, either as King of Naples, or as issued from an house, which had not begun to reign like his; for the Crown had stood fully nine hundred yeares on the heads of his Ancestors, and the Arragonians had not known above three hundred yeares, what a royall Scepter meant.

The Monarchy of France was founded upon the ruines of an Empire, which swayed the whole world, and amongst the Gaules, the most warlike province of Europe (a people so daring, as to advance their Standards on the highest top of the Capitoll.) The Arragonians made a Kingdome of a Country, choosing a Monke for Founder, whom they took out of a Cloyster, that they might have a King extracted from the Gothish race.

He was so simple and doltish, that mounting on horse-back to wage warre against the Moores, and they putting a lance into one hand,

hand, and a target into the other, he took the bridle between his teeth. He quickly shook off his sottishnesse: For employments make men: So that putting on the Majestie of a King, he caused the heads of eleven of his greatest to be cut off, who mocked at him, and for a satisfactory reason, onely said this, *Foxes know not with whom they dally.*

King *Charles* to exact an account for these last bravadoes, in the 1311. yeare raised a great army, and intreated his Cousin *Charles*, Count of Valois, whom King *Philip le Bel* sent into Tuscany for aid of the Florentines, to lend him his troops to chase *Fredericke* out of Sicily. The forces being joyned and nothing wanting among them but discipline, they entred into Calabria, and there exercised violences so exorbitant, that *Violante* Dutches of Calabria, sister of *Fredericke* abhorred it, and having shewed

After hee had reigned some time, he retired into his Monastery, and recommended his daughter to *Alphonso* the seventh, King of Castile. Discipline is hard in armies of divers Nations. Wise Princes appease enmities among houses from whence they sprang, & those whereinto they are married.

Peace between the King of Naples, & *Fredericke* of Arragon in the year 1302

shewed her courage in waging warre, made her wiledome appeare in treaty of peace, perswading *Frederick* to require it, and not to expect, till he were in a condition not to obtain it. *Fredericke* gave care to her, and the doubt of the future evill being worse than the paine of the present, disposed him to peace, and conjured his sister to mediate.

She had the honour both to propose, and conclude it. Sicily rested in *Fredericke* for his life onely, without any other title, than King of Trinacria, leaving all he held elsewhere, and to confirme amity, he married *Leonora* the daughter of *Charles* the second

But as there is no charin more powerfull to gaine the good opinion of the people, than to afford them peace, and oppose any thing which may disturb their repose; *Violante* was honoured by all as the foundresse and raiser of this Temple of peace. It was proclaimed every where, Long

live *Violante*, no other title contented their thoughts, than *Violante*, and it was much more truely said of her name than of the Emperours, that it grew amongst roses, and violets. This publicke well-wishing spread it selfe over all, whatsoever had relation to *Violante*: but the best part was for the Catanian, who alone possessed her soule, nor could any other deserve her favours: which she cherished, not onely by the care of the education of the young Prince, but with great vigilance, ardent assiduity, lively affection, and a judicious complacence practised in the Mothers service, in such sort that she alone was the oracle of her will. But death which searcheth into all the corners of the earth, and from which no one Country is more distant than another, tooke away the *Duchesse Violante*, even in the sweetness of this good work of peace. This

Martial said the name of the Emperour *Domitian* sprang amongst Roses, and Violets.

Favours of great ones are merited by assiduity, affection, and fidelity.

In all parts of the world man is in equall distance from death.

Affection borne to the dead, appeared in the remembrance of what they recommended. To pray, that is to speake to God, and to understand his word is to heare him speake.

Examples doe not rectifie depraved spirits.

This death undermining the fortune of the Catanian astonished her, but it was but for a little while. For *Robert* remarrying with *Sancha* daughter of the King of Majorica well remembered *Violante* had recommended her to him, and offered her as a present, she loved her no lesse than her Cousin *Violante* had done, and this woman observing her Mistresse, did wholly addict her selfe to devotion, and tooke not delight in any thing but to speake with God by prayer, or to heare God speaking to her in the reading of pious bookes, played the hypocrite, and scrupulous holy one, onely to please her. Much adoe had she to straine for it, *For devotion is so cleere and impolluted, you cannot confound it: sooner will water commix with oyle, than Piety with Hypocrisie.* I wonder how she grew so wicked among so many examples of piety and vertue: but she came to

to the Court, not to settle her conscience, but to raise a fortune. *Sancha* Duchesse of Calabria who loved her, because she had the breeding of the young Prince, being most affectionate, and vigilant for her good, let no faire occasion slip in her advancement.

Her Husband dyed, and shee was instantly courted. For who ever should marry her, was sure to sleep betweene the armes of Fortune, so supereminent was her power in Court. This serpent, which during the winter of her wretchednesse lay stark, and benumbed with cold, no sooner felt the heat of the Sunne of favour, but she stirred and high reared her creast.

Charles had set out an edict against the Saracens that resided in Sicily, and who 70. yeares together possessed Luceria, giving leave to the Christians to kill them. if they abjured not the Alchoran. Some

Affection produceth affection.

Sudden favour makes spirits revive and flourish again, which seemed dejected, and faint.

The Sarazens for a long time held Sicily, *Frederick* the 2. gave them the City of Luceria

Forced
conver-
sions make
Atheists.

Boccace
saith he
bought it
not.

A heart
which is
disposed to
do well is
quickly
seen in its
courage.

Some forsooke the Country, others were baptized, and there were scene many to be new Christians in appearance, and inveterate Sarazens in their consciences; for it was impossible to root this pestilent seed out of their hearts, and those who returned to their old vomit, were called Marrans. Never was good Moore a good Christian. In the general expulsion of this scummy people, *Raimond* of Cabanes, Master, of the Kings household tooke to him a young Sarazen, and noting in him much affection toward his service, and withall a dextrous and ready wit, gave him his owne name in baptisme, the knowledge of his friends in Court, and lastly his proper charge. But as there is not any meane in the Courts of Princes, and since the slenderest fortunes require a whole man; he so well managed his, that of little he made much, and became so acceptable

ceptable to *Charles* the second, and to Duke *Robert*. his sonne that he created him master of his Wardrobe. Time cooperateth with his industry, and fortune sutes to his vigilance: Labours, which are punishments to the sluggish, and delights to the diligent, trouble not him at all. He acquired great wealth which he exposed, neither to Ostentation nor Envy. Gratuities fell into his purse without noise, & by waies unperceivable, and although there is not any condition in Court free from taxations, nor wisdom to absolute, and judicious, as to make it selfe a Master over accidents, yet met he with none, who might reproach him to have used therein either indiscretion, or imprudence. He brought not his wax wings or conferred favours so neare to the Sunne, nor at first flight soares up to heaven by strength of wing, he abides within the knowledge of

There is no fortune so meane, which requireth, not all the industry of a man.

He who doth any thing willingly, his travell costeth him nothing. The wise man exposeth not his fortune to envy.

There is no providence so certaine that it can assure things future.

of what he is, and what he hath beene, is contented with what befalls him, and not scorning any man despiseth himselfe, and priset those who disesteeme him.

He shewes humility towards the great, Courtesie to others, never enters into competition with any who may hurt him, never embroyles himselfe with partialities, nor accounts his fortune by desert, he repaires all manner of defects by his modesty: for the truth is *modest ignorance is much more tolerable, than proud ability.*

Modesty alone is the assured guide of prosperity, from whence a man never wanders, who loseth not himselfe. It is an especial favour from heaven, when they for some good space walke both together, It is the first piece which is wanting in the equipage of those, who suddenly rise to great Fortunes. Prosperity causeth Pride, Pride Insolence, Insolence Folly, and

Fortune many times possesseth the place of merit.

It is hard to joyne modesty and felicity together

and Folly head-long ruine. There are not any but such as get riches with innocency, who possesse them with modesty. The Duchesse of Calabria thought the fortune of the *Morisco* was the Catannoises reall act, wherefore she resolved to marry them together, *Raymond Cabanes* might hit upon a better, but he was nothing nice, protesting that were he honoured with this favour he would compare with those, who had married Goddesses.

To make this alliance the more noble, and to cover the shame of both their births, this good Lady gave the Duke of Calabria her husband to understand; and he the King his father, that they wanted nought but honour, and that their great possessions wel deserved to afford them distinction from the multitude. The Catanian willing enough to oblige her husband to acknowledge her, as the sole cause of Nobility, laboureth

Peleus, and Anchises enjoyed (as saith Plutarch) wedlocke with Goddesses

Great wealth shewes ill without honours.

Nature,
Folly, and
Fortune
give some-
times the
ambition
of a Prince
to the cou-
rage of a
groome.

Consci-
ence is ac-
commo-
dated to
time and
favour.

reth hard to get him a title. As she was importunate in begging benefices, so she became impudent in the pursuit of honours, and never gave over till *Sancha* made him a Knight, before hee was a Gentleman. All the Court murmured against the King, as too liberal of the ensignes of honour, whereof a wise Prince is so sparing, that he never makes use of them, but to recompence merit, and great services: Every one complained of Nature, which gave the high soaring affections of a Prince to abject foules, and put noble thoughts into hearts inferior.

The King granted him the order of Knighthood, and he received it according to the forme of the institution thereof, made by *Charles* his Father. Information being given of his military achievements, and dexterity in arms, upon the witness of those, who bent their consciences to

favour,

favour, giving assurance of that which was not, nor ever had beene. (For the truth is *Raymond* never handled Iron, but in a kitchen, or at the Oare among gally-slaves) there was a day appointed for the Ceremony in the great Church.

The King seated on his royall Throne, under him the King of Hungary his sonne, who with a great traine came to see him, Queene *Mary* his wife, the Duchesse of Calabria his daughter, Princes and Princesses, his children. *Raymond* presenteth himselfe, the Archbishop of Barri made a discourse upon the noblenesse of the act, then gave an oath to bind him, not to ride upon an Asse, or Mule like the Knights of the scarse, but to serve the King, defend Ladies wronged in their honour, and to enter into the lists of Combat for them, if hee were intreated.

After

The history of Provence saith the Knight was caused to sit on a chaire of silver, covered with greene velvet.

Alphonfus instituted the order of the scarse and bull.

The sword
put on by
Virgins,
bound
him not to
use it in a-
ny wicked
act.

After the oath given, two an-
cient Knights presented him at
the feet of the King, who stri-
king him on the head or shoul-
der with his sword, solemnly
pronounced these solemne
words, God make thee a good
Knight.

Seven well attired Damsels
girted him with a sword, and
four Knights put on his spurs.
The Queene & Duchesse of Ca-
labria led him into his ranke, and
the Knights embraced him; but
discontentedly, because hee had
obtained without merit, or ser-
vice, through favour and inter-
cession, the honours which were
only ordained for singular, and
excellent rewards of vertue. It
is the onely advantage, which
worth yeelds to one man above
another, if it be not seldome, it
is contemptible.

Musique, Bals, Tournaments
conclude the feast, and the next
is the wedding. *Raymond mar-*
rieth

Knight-
hood was
establi-
shed recom-
pence
worth, and
vertue.

rieth the Catanian, and with her,
Insolence, Ingratitude, & Pride.
In the Kitchin his thoughts tran-
sportted him to armes, now when
he is in the midst of them, hee
aspires to an higher pitch, and
his desires extend much farther
than his hopes.

This extraordinary greatnes
takes his very countenance away
from him, he is altogether asto-
nished at it, as a Kite on the fist,
or a Monkey in scarlet. *Digni-
ties and new riches breed some-
thing sottish in the minds of those,
who are accustomed to possesse, and
enjoy them for a long time.* His first
modesty brake company with
prosperity; Pride makes him
glitter every where, his Rvot
throwes him into all superflui-
ties and profusions, wherein it
may be shewed, and he stands
perplexed and cumbred in great
riches, as with garments too long
and heavy.

Charles in the meane time
Q fought

Desire
which a-
spireth be-
yond
things to
be desired,
is no de-
sire, but a
disease.

So *Copreus*
hath greek
attire, and
barbarous
hands.

Excessive
riches are
garments
too long
and trou-
blesome.

Bertrand Arch-Bishop of Bourdeaux chosen Pope.

John Duke of Britaign slain by the fall of a wall at Lyons 1306.

The holy See transferred from Rome to Avignon, in the year 1307.

The abolishing of the Templars in the Council of Vienna, in the year 1309.

Taking of Rhodes by the Knights of

sought the peace of the Church, which at that time was much turmoyled, and felt strange revolutions. *Boniface* the eighth died a prisoner, *Benedict* the eleventh of the order of Saint *Dominicke*, succeeded him for eight moneths, and seventene dayes; and *Clement* the fifth chosen after him, came to *Philip le Bel*, and *Charles* Count of Valois. His coronation was performed with great solemnity, but much disturbed by the death of the Duke of Britaine, slain by the ruine of a wall. The Pope from thence went to Avignon, and there established his See, setting the Crowne of Sicily upon the head of *Robert* Duke of Calabria.

Charles began in Provence the terrible persecution against the Templars, and being at *Montpellier* in the year 1307, commanded the imprisonment of many of them, and seizure of their

their goods, and his will was executed with such order and diligence, that on one and the same day, being the foure and twentieth of January, by one same signall given, they were all cast into prison, and few dayes after executed. Their goods were given to the Knights of the order of Saint *John* of Ierusalem, who at that time possessed themselves of Rhodes by a pretty stratagem, causing certaine Souldiers to creepe into the City in sheepskins amongst a flock of sheepe, and the Captaines disguised like Shepheards. *Charles* dyed a while after, in the year 1309. three-score yeares of age. God blessed this Prince with a plentifull posterity, to afford him alliance with the best and chiefest houses of Christendome. The first, *Charles Martell* King of Hungary. Secondly, *Lewis*, a religious man of the Order of Saint *Francis*, and Bishop of Thoulouse.

Saint *John* of Ierusalem, in the year 1309

Taking of Rhodes by the knights of Saint *John* of Ierusalem, in the year 1309.

rbisip
 Prince of
 Tarentum
 married
Catharine
 Empresse
 of Con-
 stantino-
 ple, daugh-
 ter to *Phi-*
lip son of
Baldwin,
 Emperour
 of Con-
 stantino-
 ple, and
Beatrice of
 Sicily,
 daughter
 of *Charles*
 the first,
 King of
 Naples.

louse. Thirdly, *Robert* Duke of Calabria, who succeeded his Father. Fourthly, *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, Emperour of Greece. Fifthly, *John* Prince of Achaia, or Morea. Sixthly, *Raymond Berenguer* Count of Andria. Seventhly, *Tristram*, borne during the imprisonment of his Father. Eighthly, *Lewis* of Duras. Ninthly, *Peter* surnamed *Tempest*, Count of Gravina. The eldest daughter *Margarite*, married to *Charles* Count of Valois, and Mother of *Philip* of Valois: *Blanch* married to *James* of Aragon: *Elconor*, to *Fredericke* King of Sicily: *Mary* to *James* King of Majorica: *Beatrice*, to the Marquess of Este, afterward to *Bertrand Baux*, Prince of Orange, and *Humbert* Dauphin of Vienne.

Wits are purified in adversity, and Princes who have exercised theirs in the calamities of fortune and necessity, have had better suc-

suc-

successes than others on whom Crowns have fallen without labour, and Cities even sleeping. As *Charles* the first got not the Crown of Naples without pain, nor preserved it without perill, his reputation being raised upon glorious actions of his vertue, and constancy: So *Charles* the second maintained not his, but by wrestling with Fortune, which to ruin him, cast him foure yeares into the power of his enemies. Italy afforded him the glory of its repose, and to have preserved it from sinking under the desperate and furious factions of Gwelphes, and Gibelines. He lived so well that hee dyed willingly; There was not any Nation, which admired him not, nor shall any age faile to record him.

Robert his third sonne succeeded him, by exclusion of the children of his eldest, *Charles Martell* King of Hungary. The

Q 3

questi-

Timotheus, a more fortunate than able man, was painted sleeping, and Cities which of themselves were taken in an heape.

That you may die contentedly, you must not deplore the actions of life.

The disputation of the Vncles precedency before the Nephewes was treated by *Baldus*.

Lewis, the second son of *Robert*, dyed at nine years of age.

The death of an Infant is a fruit not fallen off, but pulled from the tree before the time. *Henry* of *Luxembourg* the Emperour, offers his daughter to the son of the King of *Sicily*, in the yeare 1312.

question whether the Vncle should be preferred before the Nephew was disputed before the Pope at *Avignon*, who more considered the age, experience, and merit of *Robert*, than the right of those in minority. At his entrance into rule, death tooke *Lewis* his second son from him, whom the *Catancs* had bred, whereat he conceived such sorrow, as we may of a fruit pulled off before maturity, so that seeing all the hope of his succession rested on the Duke of *Calabria* his only son, he desired in good time to see him a Father, and for that purpose sought out a wife for him. *Henry* the seventh offered him his daughter, but hee married one of those, which the Emperour *Albert* left, and that no man may enter into this History, who confirms not the example of the unhappinesse of prosperity, hee may observe his for-

fortune to be remarkable.

Having gotten the Empire, not onely by right of election, but by armes (for he discomfited, and slue in battell *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, his Rivall, ten yeares after, in the yeare 1308) he was slaine by his Cousin German neare the Citie of *Bruch*, and as it were in the sight of the Castle of *Habsburg*, the Cradle which bred the first Princes of the house of *Austria*. This yong Prince fell into despaire, because the Emperour who had many children to provide for, denied to restore him the Seignorie of *Kiburg*, which was his mothers. *A Prince young and needy, is apt to enter into ill counsels, against him who with-holds that, which would suffice to preserve him from necessity.*

He died in the time of his purpose, to chastise rigorously the three Townes of the *Switzers*, which revolted against those

Q 4

who

Battell of *Worms*, where *Adolphus* of *Nassau* was slaine, the eight and twentieth of June, 1308.

Necessity is witty in ill counsels.

Three little *Cantons* revolted against their Governours, in the year 1308.

The first league of three Cantons of the Switzers, was made at Brilan the seventh of Decem. 1325.

Albert had two and twenty children by his wife *Elizabeth* of Carinthia.

who governed them, as subjects of the Empire. Three Pelants, who had no other use of iron, but to prick forward their Oxen, and cleave wood, employed it to raise a warlike Commonwealth, which hath an hand in all the warres of Christendome, drawes money from the most powerfull Christian Princes, and hath fought nine battels to secure their liberty. He left two and twenty children by *Elizabeth* of Carinthia, and although he had great possessions in Austria, Bohemia, Alsatia, Swevia, and Suiserland, there was not enough to afford a Principality to each one, yet they were all well provided for, & the daughters required in marriage by the best Families of Christendome. *Robert* preferred this alliance before, that, of the Emperour *Henry* the seventh, and gave to his sonne *Charles* Duke of Calabria, *Katharine* Princessse of Austria.

This

This Prelation offended the Emperour, and began their enmity, which was exasperated by the aid *Robert* gave to the Gwelfes, and Florentines. The Emperour vexed hereat, published a Ban, declared him a Rebell against the holy Empire, condemnes him to lose his head, and the Crown of Naples. The condemned onely appeales to his Sword, made his judgement be revoked, pursued the Emperour, who retired into Piemont, and pressed him so hard, that he repented to have incensed a brave and masculine courage, which accounted not the suffering of injuries laudable, nor the forgetfulnesse of them profitable. The Florentines afterwards, to free themselves from such an enemy, who never appeared amongst them, but for their ruine, caused him to be poysoned at Bonconvent, the fifteenth of August 1312.

Q.5

Death

Robert succoureth the Florentines against the Emperour. *Henry* of Luxembourgh the Emperour, condemneth *Robert* King of Naples to lose his head, 1318. Never injure him, who can take revenge. *Henry* the seventh was poysoned at Bonconvent in an Host, others say, he was hurt with a fall from an horse.

Death dissolved the marriage of the Duke of Calabria with *Katharine* of Austria, and shee dyed without children. *Robert*, who had but onely this sonne, presently sought out another wife for him, entreating King *Philip* the faire, he would be pleased the house of Valois might restore to the Crown of Naples, what it had thence borrowed. *Charles* the second his father, had married *Margarite* his daughter to *Charles* Count of Valois, and *Robert* desired Graces for his Sonne of this royall Stock, which had never beene tainted with the least suspition of impurity. It is said of this Lady, that the Embassadors of France having required her for the Kings brother, besought her they might see, whether she were touched with her fathers naturall imperfections, who was crooked, she uncloathed her selfe even to her smock, made of so fine Holland,

She is not chaste enough, who by the least suspition make her chastity to be doubted.

that

that one might easily behold her shape, and withall replying, that *Never would she for a Crowne make any scruple to pull it off.*

King *Robert* desirous to see his sonne, the Duke of Calabria, fully accomplished in all vertues, gave him for Tutor the Count of *Elzear* a kinsman of the Earls of Provence, every where renowned for admirable purity of life.

Kings that neglect the education of those who are to succeed them, little regard their owne states, the safety wherof depends on the good education of the Prince: Warres are not the cause of so many miseries, as ill managed education. For such calamities are but temporary, but disorder lasteth, whilst the scepter swayeth. By the fruits of Iustice, and piety which it is tree bare, it may be understood it was well manured.

The intended marriage being resolved

In the choyce of Princesses to be wives for Kings, the stature and grace of body was considered. *Saint Elzear* Earle of Arrian of the house of Sabran, Good government cannot be expected from a Prince ill bred.

It is a great try-
all of cou-
rage to
abstaine
from that,
which is
both desi-
red, and
permitted.

Charles
Duke of
Calabria
marrieth
Mary
daughter
of Charles
Count of
Valois,
1324.

Length of
service
gaineth
trust for
servants.

resolved on, he sent his Gover-
nour to Paris to negotiate it. He
could not make choice of a more
unspotted Oratour, as one who
had lived three and twenty years
with *Delphina* his wife in volun-
tary and secret chastity, prefer-
ring devotion amidst the vani-
ties of Court, Humility in great-
nesse, naturall frailty among
pleasures, and single life in mar-
riage. Scorners will make sport
hereat for the danger there is in
placing powder neare unto fire.
But the actions of Saints should
be considered, not with discourse
of nature, but effects of grace.

The Marriage of the Lady
Mary was the raising of the Ca-
tanians fortune, whom King *Ro-
bert* gave to his daughter in law,
as a woman, that had scene the
birth and education of all the
children of the royall family; she
having served Queene *Mary*
daughter of the King of Hunga-
ry, the Duchesses *Fiolante*, *San-
cha*,

cha, *Katherine*: she was an aged
Oke, a worne Medaile, only ho-
noured for her antiquity, every
one made addresse to her, as to
the register of household govern-
ment.

She was beloved by this La-
dy, more than by all the rest, and
being an understanding woman,
presently perceived, the delights,
and inclinations of her Mistresse
propended to prety conceits,
neat curiosities, and quaint orna-
ments. There was not any thing
either rare, or excellent thorow
all Europe, which she sought not
out to please her, that one would
have thought, whole Provinces
stood affected to her accommo-
dation.

Robert had other content-
ments, which neerly followed
the marriage of his sonne with
Mary of Valois; the City of *Ge-
nova* rendred it selfe up to him,
and he had possession of it full
eighteen years: The Church
gave

The
Queenes
of Persia
had pro-
vinces na-
med from
their dres-
sings, one
was ter-
med the
Queenes
girdle,
another
her Head-
tire.

Robert is made Vicar for the Church at Ferrara. It is a rule in nature, that the best command. *Katherine* of Austria died on the 15. of Jan. 1323. and *Mary* of Hungary on the 25. of March 1323.

gave him the guardianship and government of *Ferrara*; *Florence* resented it. *It is a thing very naturall for people to submit themselves voluntarily under the rule of good and wise Princes.*

The first yeare of the marriage of his sonne brought forth a daughter whom he named *Iane*, and he appointed the *Catanian* to be her governess, and made *Raymond Cabanes* her husband super-intendent of his household. To preserve the good intelligence he held with the Pope, he often visited him at *Avignon*, and was there, whilst in lesse than two moneths he received newes of the death of his daughter in law *Katherine* of Austria, and his Mother *Mary* of Hungary. To understand the like griefe, one must have such a daughter, and such a Mother. He there also saw the death of one of his dearest friends *Amedeus* the fourth, D. of *Savoy*. Pope *Benedict* the twelfth dyed

dyed a while after leaving the continuation of the sumptuous palace of *Avignon* imperfect. Flesh and bloud had not any power over him. Some Courtiers brought his father before him cloathed otherwise than becomed his condition, he would not acknowledge him untill he had reassumed the habit of a Miller, nor give him any thing but wherewithall to buy a Mill. He often said Popes should neither have kindred nor allies, and that they were not administrators of Church-livings to enrich their owne kindred.

The great reverence he bare to the Pope was a notable prooffe of his wisdom, for hee well knew, whilst the Kings his predecessors held good correspondence with the Popes (having ever before their eyes the treaties, and capitulations betweene the See Apostolike, and their Crowne, the more exactly to observe

Pope *Benedict* would not enrich his parents with the goods of the Church.

A Prince should consider those treaties, which oblige him. *Philip* King of *Macedon* caused the articles he agreed on with the Romans to be read unto him.

In the investiture of the Kings of Naples, it is said they will not accept the election of the Emperour *Charles* Duke of Calabria, as head of the Florentine Commonwealth, nor their army with 200000. duckets rent by the yeare.

observe them) the peace of their state had been invincible, nor had the Princes of the house of *Svevia*, who banded against them, derived any other profit, than losse both of the Empire of *Almaigne*, and Kingdome of *Naples*. *Never should we quarrell with those, who may more endamage, than profit us.*

To quiet the spirit of the Pope he promised him by oath never to accept the Imperiall Crown, nor title of King of *Lombardy* as Prince of *Tuscany* under the penalty of losing the rights of *Sicily*.

The Florentines notwithstanding so well liked his government, that they demanded his sonne, and chose him their Prince for ten yeares. Whilst they expected his comming, he sent them the Count *Brennus* his kinsman, and shortly after went thither with his wife. who was there delivered of a son, whom the

the Signory of Florence named *Charles Martell* in memory of the brother of King *Robert* of Hungary. But the joy of this birth lasted but eight dayes: For the childe died on the ninth. She had yet another daughter named *Mary*; the abode he made at Florence much availed the *Catanian* who grew dexterous by conversation with the subtil, and wary wits of Italy. He remained there about some three yeares, but hearing the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavare* entred into Italy, and had a plot upon the territories of King *Robert* his father, he departed from Florence, and went to Naples, where he soon after deccased. His government was so just and temperate, that the Florentines never bewailed those that went before. Such care he had of Iustice, and to have it exercised towards all his subjects, that (perceiving the difficulty of access of the poore

Lewis of *Bavare* entred into Italy, causeth himselfe to be crowned at Rome the 17. of Jan. 1328. deposeth *Iohn* the 22. who was at *Avignon*, and putteth into his place a *Cordelier*, called *Peter Corbieres*. Death of *Charles* Duke of Calabria in the year 1328. No justice but for them who have money.

poore to him) he caused a bell to be hanged at the gate of his Palace, so that he who rung it was sure in that instant to be brought before the Prince, or to have some officer sent out to heare him.

The Florentines unable to agree in their government, had likewise recourse to King Robert, who assigned them the Duke of Athens, but he thought not long to continue him there, upon notice given, he had put the Signory out of the Palace where they usually assemble, so that he sent him word, if he could not content himselfe with his sonnes lodging, hee should not make any long abode in the City.

He gave up an unfortunate account of his fidelity, and reputation, in going about to make that power perpetuall, which was given him but limited, he seised on the forces of the City, and

such

King Robert undertooke the ruine of the Duke of Athens, because he began to alter and trouble the government of the City.

Gaultier Duke of Athens Count of Brenne enterprieth upon the liberty of Florence.

such as might hinder his plot. Those who conspired against the common wealth to raise him, had a new plot to ruine him, and seeing it was discovered, not willing to expect till punishment should be inflicted, took armes. The design which was but of some particulars, caused a generall insurrection against him, to enforce him to forsake the Fortresse, and to put into the hands of the executioner those who had assisted him in his Tyranny, which lasted but nine moneths. *It is the interest both of the particular, and publicke, that the wicked perish, and the good prosper.*

Nothing could happen to King Robert, which more sharply afflicted him, than the death of his sonne; he incessantly said: *The Crowne is fallen from my head, woe be to me, woe be to you.* If sorrow had power enough to kill, it had thrown him into his grave, his courage made resistance,

He who is discovered casts himselfe into despaire.

It were ill with the common-wealth if the wicked should alwaies prosper. King Robert deploring the death of his sonne spake these words, *Cecidit Corona capitis mei;*

He sadly
prunes the
tree, from
which no
fruit can
be expec-
ted.

*O ridicu-
lum vidisse
ex ergastulo
servili, ac
nidore popi-
ne Æthio-
pem Rober-
to Regi re-
galia obse-
quia exhi-
bentem.*

stance, and although griefe had banished vivacity of Spirit from his heart, Constancy in an instant made it returne againe, but the evill was reiterated with it.

He found no comfort but in his little Inheritrix, the precious pledge of the Kingdomes hope, who was in the hands of her governess, omitting nothing in the sollicitous care of exact education, by manuring her as a plant, that was to perpetuate her house, but with this griefe, that he could not have the contentment to see the fruit shee should bring forth; To oblige her governess to bee carefull in the service of this Princess, he created her husband great Steward of Naples, and thereupon Boccace, who relateth this story, cryeth out aloud; What a mockery is it to see a Moore drawne from the misery of a gally-slave, and smoake of the Kitchen, to supply with

with King Robert the prime services of the Crowne, to take place of the greatest Lords, to become a President in the Court, and to administer justice to Suitors but what shall we say? Fortune raileth whom she list. So inconstant is she, that shee suffered *Marinus* to beg his bread at Carthage in his sixt Consulship, and created him chiefe general in the seventh.

The choyce a Prince makes of men, whom he advanceth to great employments, is not subject to any mans censure: and were it bad, yet ought it to be approved, lest his judgement be questioned, and reputation wounded; but it is a hard matter to be silent therein: For honours weepe over those who have not deserved them, and the Images of Noble houses upbraid the slender merit of the new purchasers.

Raymond Cabanes continued not long in this charge, for death freed

The liberty of a Prince in the choice of servants is absolute.

The Romans permitted not new purchasers of noble houses to change the Images, or furnitures, which upbraided their unworthines.

Wife men
make use
of favour,
and abuse,
it not.

It is bet-
ter to be-
gin, than
end an
house,

freed him from the envy and ha-
trcd shee would have cast upon
him, had hee lived any longer.
King *Robert* witnessed in his
death the account he made of his
life, appointing funerall obsequies
for him, as for a Prince of his
owne bloud, and protesting hee
had long time made use of his
favour, but never abused it: It is
true, Fortune raised his house,
but vertue had a share in it, and
prudence furnished out the Oe-
conomy. It was as great a glory
for him to have raised it, as it is
a disgrace for others to ruine
what they finde already framed.
Some, through their owne er-
rours, deface the images of their
Ancestors, others transmit theirs
over to posterity with admirati-
on. Those, not having preserved
what was given them are despi-
cable, these having out of them-
selves framed that, which they
received not from any man, de-
serve to be honoured. There is

a beginning in every thing: the
greatest houses were heretofore
but Cabarets, the Capitoll was
at first covered with tharch:
There are divers things very
great, which would not so have
beene, had they not beene little,
& might the condition of mans
extraction depend on his owne
choyce, every one would bee
borne great; there is not a crea-
ture, but would be derived from
a noble house.

Joane was about foure yeares
and an halfe old, when her Fa-
ther dyed, and when she was in
the beginning of the seventh,
King *Robert*, who desired no-
thing more than to establish her,
declared her his heire, the Sub-
jects of the Kingdome of Naples,
and the Countie of Provence
acknowledged her, did her ho-
mage, and promised, if God dis-
posed of *Mary* before she were
a Mother, they would confesse
her sister *Joane* for their Queen.

Be-

Agarbeles
King, of
Sicily had
a Potter
to his fa-
ther; *Ju-
stinian*, a
Shepherd;
Gratian, a
Ropema-
ker.

Joane, el-
dest daugh-
ter of the
Duke of
Calabria,
is declared
Heire of
the Crown
of Sicily,
in the
moneth of
Iune, and
year 1330

Ambition
covereth it
selfe with
anything
it finds.

Loseth the
best and
most assu-
red guid of
her life.

Besides, *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum* said, that he would have no other heire, if hee died without issue.

As power encreased for *Ioane*, favour augmented for her Governesse, who had a hand in everything, causing her ambition to passe under the specious pretext of her Pupils service, and as if all had conspired to her greatness, the Duchesse of Calabria, who alone held her designs under controll, dyed shortly after this declaration. Had she lived, shee never would have suffered her to extend the charge of the Princesses person, over the government of the State. The good education of Infancy was but as a dew, which is exhaled by the first fervours of youth.

She was a Princess, whose life was truly innocent, as being endued with the humility of an Hand-maid towards God, the goodnesse of a Mother towards her

her

her Subjects, and the severity of a Iudge towards her selfe. Her Mother *Margarite* Duchesse of Valois, and sister of King *Robert*, a Princess incomparable for her chastity, first bred her. She lived in a Court, which was a Temple of purity; for the good odours Saint *Lewis*, and Queene *Blanch* left behind them, were not as yet dispersed; and it is observed for prooffe of unspeakable modesty, and goodnesse, that King *Philip* the Hardy ordained, no Noble man should lye in the Queenes Palace with his owne Wife. Greatnesse excused not vice, nor could it preserve the faire *Calisto* (losing her chastity) from being reputed as ugly as a Beare.

The Duchesse *Mary* deceasing, gave her daughter what she esteemed most precious, the richest of her Crownes, and the dowry of threescore thousand pounds, which King *Philip le Bel*

R

had

The court
hath long
tasted the
fruit of
those ver-
tues, which
St. *Lewis*
sowed
in it.

Calisto,
daughter
of *Lycaon*,
mother of
Arctas, de-
ceived by
Jupiter un-
der the
forme of
Diana, was
turned in-
to a Beare
by *Juno*.

Who retaineth
another's,
keeps not
his owne
conscience
in quiet.

When *Andrew* was
brought
to Naples,
he was
but seven
years old,
and his
wife was
then nine.

had designed her.

The Declaration King *Robert* made, that he might not leave the succession of his Crowne doubtfull, drew not out the thorne that stucke in his heart, nor could his conscience any longer suffer it. He enjoyed the Crowne of Naples by exclusion of his elder brothers children. To extinguish these pretentions, and to make but one house of two, he treated the marriage of his grandchilde *Ioane*, with *Andrew* second sonne of the King of Hungary, and that of *Mary* with *Lewis* already the declared King of Hungary. Vpon this resolution *Charles* his father departed from Buda, and came to Naples; *Robert* received this Prince with incredible joy, and thought his arrivall might repaire the losse of the Duke of Calabria his sonne.

The impediments of consanguinity taken away by the Popes dispensation, the marriage was

so

solemnized at Naples with extraordinary pompe and magnificence, on the eighteenth of September 1323. But dispositions were so contrary, and unequally suited, that there was no other successe expected from this Match, but misery. Thinking to bring concord into his house, he introduced trouble, left disturbance in his soule, and seeking to faile at the same instant, and with the same wind into two sundry Ports, saw himself carried away, both from the one and other. He thought, that by the breeding and education of them together, the love which might be enkindled in this first acquaintance, would encrease with age; but the designs of men oft times succeeding much otherwise than they project; this long conversation bred contempt in those young hearts, who being (as yet) incapable of amorous flames, were so accustomed to neglects and

R 2

dis-

Forced
and constrained
marriages
have unfortunate
events.

Amities,
or enmities
contracted in
the first
education,
are not
easily dissolved.
Life is divided
between
cares and
contentments,
as between
day and
night.

disdaines, that when youth would enkindle affection, it found nothing therein but Ice; and although bodies were joyned together to obey the King, yet their hearts were everlastingly separated.

Anxieties for the present, sorrow for the passed, and feare for the future, oppressed the soule of *Robert*, who divided all the dayes of his life between grieve and watching. In the end, pensiveness called him to yeeld himself up to the lodging, which old age had appointed him. He entred thereinto in the sixty fourth year of his age, 1342, the fifteenth of January.

He loved choyce wits (so were the Poets, and Provence Bards of his time called.) He had in his Library the works of the foure-score famous Poets, the greatest parts of them Gentlemen; for it was the most generous exercise of the Nobility of Provence, in the

Poetry was in great esteem under the Earles of Provence.

the sweet tranquility of peace.

He tooke delight to read the writings, and heare the discourses of *Petrarch*, he spent three dayes in conference with him, so much esteeming his doctrine, as to compare it to the pearles of his Crowne. He wrote letters to Rome in his behalfe. Whilst Princes patronize learning, we shall ever have knowing men. It is not so necessary they have propension to Sciences, as affection to understanding men, for by cherishing, and giving eare to such, they learne much of them. As *Alexander* was praised, for having enforced Sparta to serve, and Athens to be silent, so had he the honour to reduce Genoa to constancy, and Florence to obedience. But he is not in this History to appeare so free and exempt from the strokes of Fortune, as not to meet with disasters in the midst of his prosperities. After the death of so many deare

R 3 friends

Petrarch made use of the inventions, and conceits of the Provencal Poets.

A Prince, who esteems knowing men, cannot be ignorant.

Rattell of
Mount
Catin the
thirtieth
of August,
1315.

Rigour lo-
seth its
authority,
by the re-
newing of
punish-
ments.

Robert did
believe
the predi-
ction of
Astrolo-
gers, con-
cerning

friends, and sorrow for the confusion he was to leave in his house, he observed on the back side of his bright dayes, the losse of the battell of Mount Catin, where *Charles* of Tarentum was slaine, *Philip* of Tarentum his brother taken prisoner, and the Count of Gravines retiring, lost in a Marsh. *Fredericke* of Arragon twice attempted on his life, and *Castruccio* had a purpose to burne him in his gallies, returning from Aix to Naples.

He loved justice, and hated rigour, experience having taught him, that under a cruell Prince, cruelty takes place of justice, and many so much accustome themselves to severity, that the most tractable become thereby inhumane.

He loved the Mathematickes, gave credit to Astrologers, and having heard from them, France and England should arme one against another, he went from Naples

Naples to Avignon, humbly to sollicite the Pope to prevent the storme; so passionate was he in all the interests of France: Provence gave him the surname of Good, during his life, and after his decease. *Ioane* and *Andrew* succeeded him, and nothing wanted in them, but concord and wisdom; they were onely unhappy, in that they neither understood their own good, nor knew how to enjoy it. King *Robert* left them a flourishing estate, huge treasures, an assured peace, powerfull alliances, a people rich and peaceable, and although they bare not the titles of great Kings, as the Persian, they had estates which afforded the more contentment; Naples was their Babylon for winter, Avignon their Sufa for the spring. What Province is there in the world, which envieth not the affluence of Campania, and the pleasures of Provence, which

R 4

hap-

the renew-
ing of the
warres, in
the year
1350.

It is a
great un-
happinesse
to be ig-
norant of
your owne
happinesse.

The
Kings of
Persia
passed the
spring at
Sufa, win-
ter in Ba-
bylon, and
summer in
Media.

happily superaboundeth in so many rarities that others want.

Necessity sweetned, and moderated the harshnesse and discontent grown between his son in Law, and daughter; but after his death, respect vanished, and hatred succeeded, so much the more violent, as the current thereof had been hindred. It was impossible to mixe two metals so contrary. The Swallow told her mother, she had found out a jolly husband, it was the Starling, to which she replied; *Daughter, you will not long live together, for he loves winter, thou the spring.* The nature of *Andrew* was rough, and untractable, his spirit dull and heavy, not regarding the delights and exercises of any, but his own Nation, who never saw the Sun, either setting or rising: For they went to supper before it sat, and rose after it was up.

This young Prince, but nineteen yeares of age, suffered himselfe

Little friendship in contrary dispositions.

Seneca saith, *Cato* called them Antipodes, who lived in this manner.

himselſe to fall into the contempt of his wife, and barrenesse of her affections, who in the way of her most private familiarities, entertained more pleasing Imaginations.

She was little more than eighteen yeare of age, when she began her reigne, at which time youth, and love entred in with her. Liberty consented with her beauty, and power with her desires to give her leave to taste all kinde of contentments, and all whatsoever was not proper for her Majesty, was proportionable to her youth. Splendor, curiosities, and costly Pompes of her Court, her diet, her Cabinet, her Chamber surpassed the Kings of Persia.

She was bred in the voluptuous pleasures of Italy, the quaint entertainments and gentile courtesies of the Court of Naples. Her picture to be seen at Fontainebleau representeth under a

R 5

lustrous

Michael Montagne saith
Quene Ioane loved not her husband, because in marriage rights he answered not her expectation.

Darius had for the tester of his bed a Vine whereof the leaves were of gold, and the grapes, diamonds, and rubies.

Thalestria
Queen of
the Ama-
zons com-
ming be-
fore *Alex-*
ander, pray-
ed him to
lye with
her, that
some no-
table
thing
might
spring
from
thence.

Joane
would not
admit *An-*
drew to
carry the
title of
King.
There is
difference
betweene
a Quail

lustrous and sprightly beauty, a regall stature, a strong wit; lust sparkles thorow all, and it well appears this *Amazon* seeks for an *Alexander*.

Her governess who had no desire, but to humour her, rather added increase, than moderation to her appetites, thinking on nothing but to reigne in the Kingdome, whilst love swayed in the thoughts of her Mistresse, and considering, if *Andrew* had the authority, she no longer should be favoured, she imprinted in her heart, thoughts haughty, and proud, thereby intimating he should content himselfe to be the Queenes husband, and not to thinke to have any share in the Kingdome, or carry the title of King.

She is not crossed in any of her designs, but by those of *Robert* the Franciscan Fryer, whom *Charles* King of Hungary had appointed to be the governour
of

of his sonne *Andrew*, an able man, and well knowing how to draw the quintessence out of businesses, but raw in Court affairs: for seeking the way of order, he for want of experience pursued the paths of subversion, yet (as the Ass of Cuma, seeing himself clothed with a Lyons skin,) put himselfe in the ranke of the principall Lords of the Counsell. The Catanian likewise practising her deepest plots, stirrd like a Mastiffe at all that came neare her, barking at the least noise, though ignorant from whence it came.

That she might the more absolutely reign over the person of the Queen, she sequestred all the Hungarians from the knowledge of affaires, sent old servitors home to their houses, gave their offices to others. She made Protonotary, and principall Secretary of State *Roger* Archbishop of Birry, *Philip* Bishop of Cavaillon Chancellor *Bertrand de Baux*,
Lord

judgement
and inten-
tion.

The Lyons skin
covereth
the Ass,
but his
voyce be-
trayes him

The first
note of
disorder in
govern-
ment is,
when old
servants
are taken
from em-
ployment.

A great courage tyed to the rocke of necessity cannot doe its best.

Inheritance of the Prince of Tarentum cut off

A tree which affordeth drinke to the inhabitants of the Ile of Ferro one of the seven Canary Islands.

Lord chiefe Iustice, *Thomas Earle of Saint Severine Constable, Robert Cabanes* her sonne high Steward, *Charles Artus Chamberlaine, Jeffrey Earle of Mursan* her sonne in law high Admirall. She counsell'd the *Queen* ever to keep the Princes of the blood in want, so that taken by the beake, the wings of their courage might be uselesse. She caused the County of Ebula, which had been the inheritance of the Count of Graving King *Roberts* sonne, to be given to *Robert Cabanes* her sonne, to her daughter *Sancha* the County of Mursan, and to another, Terlice. There was no hope of honour, recompence, justice, or favour, but from her hand. Heaven was of Brasse, if she made it not shewre liberality; She seemed the tree that watereth the Ile of Ferro: All which her favour refresheth not, becomes dry, and withered.

What

What extravagancy, and giddinesse of Fortune! A Landresse swayeth a kingdome composed of so many mighty, rich, and Noble families. A wretched woman forceth the soule of a great *Queene*, and curbs it as if it were interdicted or charmed. What can we say, nay what say we not, when we behold the brats of the Scullion of a kitchen raised to the prime dignities of a kingdome? They who descended from the first founders of Thebes bare from their birth the marke of the bur of a lance on their thighs.

The race of *Raymond Cabanes* should bear the leg of a beestopot for a note of their extraction, and shall women that are borne long time after bring forth Moores, they will renew the birth of *Raymond* the Moore.

And because *Andrew* had received a Briefe from the Pope wherein he was named King, she

made

They who were of the race of *Semes* bare the figure of a Lance on their bodies. A Grecian woman having brought forth a blacke child, was accused of adultery with a Moore, but it was found shee in a fourth degree descended from an *Ethiopian*.

made the *Queene* imagine, that how little authority soever she left to her husband, it would be sufficient to hold her under command. If the *Queene* at any time told her she was too violent, that she could not continue, that every one murmured against the excess of her power, she made her believe it was not her they meant, but that they thereby invaded her Princely authority, and that such as are desirous to trouble a state, ever use to disgrace the government. This *Princesse* committed no other fault but in too much giving way to the imperious and violent passions of her *Gouvernesse*, preferring her contentment before her own, or the weale of the state. Private errours bare their excuses, the *Infant* findes his, in his childhood, the woman in her sex, the theefe in the occasion, the rebell in his defence: but the offence of the publicke hath none for particular

affections,

Ambition
ever takes
for pretext
disorder
in govern-
ment.
Secret
faults of
Princes
have their
excuses,
the publick
have none.

affections, and although she may alleadge, the same thing hath been done, yet cannot her innocency be pleaded upon the example of anothers folly.

Had nothing bin irregular but in the youth of this *Princesse*, it might have beene tolerable, for we willingly excuse imperfections, which call in, age or nature for warrant, the people had onely murmured, for of necessity this *Raven* must incessantly croak against the *Eagle*; *Temerity* thrusts its censure even into the Cabinets of Kings: but when the affaires appeare thereby ruined, Counsels weakned, the reputation of the State decayed, every one began to exclaime against the *Queene*, who suffered her selfe to be transported by the Torrent of the passions of the *Catanian*, and honest men grieving to see her so deceived by such impostures, and illusions, sent oft-times these plaints to heaven.

The imitation of
anothers
vice is not
innocent.

Anger
must be
moderate-
ly exerci-
sed in
faults
which
have na-
ture for
warrant.
It is not
lawfull for
the sub-
ject to
censure
the life, or
pleasures
of his
Prince.

On

One ever complains of heaven for disorders on earth,

When the treasure of a Prince is exhausted, ill wayes are invented to fill it again.

The affection of the Catanian withstands the Popes Legate.

Oh God, where is now thy Territory? Where thy Iustice? Where thy Thunders? Why sufferest thou a woman, which is come of nothing, which hopeth all, and for whom all is too little, to abuse thy patience? Thou wilt have her live, that we may perish. The evill were supportable, if it would have an end, but time aggravates it, and our patience increaseth it. The coffers of the State are empty, they must be filled with our blood and teares, all the members waxe meagre to puffe up this spleene, and if heaven afford not a helping hand, we soone shall see more evils than remedies.

The Pope advertised of this wicked government commanded Bulls to be pronounced by publications of Churches, and parishes, revoking all whatsoever she had done without advice of those whom King Robert had ordained to assist her. He sent a Legate

Legate to set affaires into order, but finding the fever changed into frenzy, and the storme much greater than his wisdom, he returneth much displeased that the faction of the Catanian had seditionously banded against his legation. The Queene also complaineth, that the Pope useth her like a child, seeking to put her into pupillage. Friar Robert solliciteth the Pope for the crowning of *Andrew*, Queene *Elizabeth* comes expressly from Avignon to intreat her, *Joane* is earnest to the contrary, and would be crowned alone. The Pope sends her word he cannot crowne her without her husband, shee consents thereunto, provided it may not give him more right, than hee ought to have in her Kingdom.

The Catanian, her sonne, her sonne in law, & friends conspire together to hinder this Coronation, but her faction proveth too

weake

Elizabeth Queene of Hungary mother of *Andrew*, offereth to defray the charge of the Coronation, which was great.

That which many do to advance themselves pulls them backe.

The greater share one hath in the ship, the more he wisheth the safety of it.

weake, God had otherwise appointed. Frogs must be silent when heaven thunders. The Pope sends Cardinals to *Cajeta* to crowne *Andrew*, and *Ioane*. This Coronation gave authority to *Andrew*, but hastned his ruine: For those who had conjured to hinder it, fearing to be punished for it, let the Catanian know they were ready for any thing. *A crime which despaire proposeth, is quickly resolved on.* The Princes and Lords distasted they had no share in steering the Vessell, wherein their fortunes were imbarqued, retire from the Count, *Queene Sancha* went out of this Egypt, and shut her selfe up in a Monastery of our Lady of Crosse, which she had built, and there tooke the habit of Saint *Francis*. The more speedily to attaine the prize of the Goale, she dispoiled her selfe of all worldly greatnesse, and had no other aime but humility, well knowing the
gate

gate of heaven is low, and straight, & we must stoop to passe thorow it.

It is no wonder if *Ioane* so speedily hastned to evill Counsels, which ruined her, since she used neither rule, nor moderation: For all whatsoever she feared, or revered, was gone, her Grandfather dead, her Mother dead, there was not any left but this good old woman, who with the winke of an eye censured her actions, and even by silence reprehended them. She saw her selfe in a worse condition than a young Princess might be, who hath nothing to feare, nor sees any, who may teach her how to rectifie her actions.

Frier *Robert* who had much adoe to inkindle the courage of *Andrew*, to take the Crowne. (For his nature cold and remisse, ever hung back,) had likewise much busines to make him keep it

Nothing can happen more dangerous to a young Prince than to love none and to do all upon his own head.

Themistocles said that in publike fights, they that were hindmost were never crowned.

Evill coun-
sell, to stay
the fire by
burning;
and ruine,
by destru-
ction.

Ambition
will see
nothing,
which ex-
ceedeth, or
equalleth
it.

Cleon and
Clitophon
ruined, &
overthrew
the State
of Athens.

it on his head, and resist this Ca-
tanian, so powerfull to doe all,
that she commanded Devils, sent
them with her packets like Posts,
and held them to the chaine, as
slaves. He changeth the batter-
ry, lends word to *Lewis* King of
Hungary, the Crowne of Naples
is lost to *Andrew*, and that it is in
him to preserve the inheritance
of his Ancestors; and for that
purpose it was fit hee married
Mary, sister of *Joane*, according
to King *Roberts* intention, and
that comming with good
troopes to marry her, he may al-
so gaine the Crowne.

Had this religious man, and
the Catanian, well understood
one another, the State being at
their discretion, they had done
at Naples, what *Cleon* and *Clitophon*
did at Athens, to man-
nage a Kingdome at their plea-
sures; but both of them sought
to have superiority. *Rome* will
rather suffer two Masters, than
either

either Pompey or Cæsar endure
a Rivall:

Charles of Durazzo, eldest
sonne of *Iohn* Prince of Morea,
eighth sonne of *Charles* the se-
cond, smelt out this plot, and
was too hard for the Friar: For
he entred into Castle d'Ovo, by
intelligence of the household ser-
vants, seized on the Princesse
Mary, carried her away to his
own house, & married her in his
Garden, on the last day of April,
134.

He did not discover his pur-
pose to any man, nor askt the
Queenes consent, who was in-
finitely distasted therewith, ve-
ry well perceiving this Match
was made upon her Tombe. *As
the hope of succession makes him
impatient who pretends, so it ever
keepees his heart full of jealousies
and distrusts, who is in possession.
Ambition thinkes Nature is too
slow in her carriere.*

At the same time his younger
bro-

A plot dis-
covered is
easily dis-
solved.

The acti-
ons of him
who is to
succeed, are
suspected
by him
that reig-
neth-

This is he
shall cause
Joane to be
strangled,
in the year
1382.

Who pro-
fiteth by
ruine, coun-
selleth it
confident-
ly.

Conspira-
cies are en-
couraged
by hatred,
interest, or
revenge,

brother, *Lewis* Count of Gravin married *Margarite* daughter of *Robert* of Saint Severine, Count of Cavaillon, and from this marriage came *Charles* the third King of Naples, Duke of Durazzo, who seized on the Kingdom.

Charles of Durazzo, and *Mary* his wife, tooke such content in fomenting this violent enmity betweene the Queene & her Husband, and blew with all the strength of their lungs that fire, frō whence they expected their light: For it cannot go ill with the Queene, but it must go well with them, and should the Crowne fall from her head, they are ready at hand to gather up the peeces.

The Catanian walkes by the same path to another plot, and meets with them in the resolution, to vindicate the Queen from captivity, and the Kingdome from confusion, by the banish-
ment

ment and extirpation of Forraigners. The most trusty servants of the Queene content thereto. Those who feare to bee looked after in the matter of conspiracy against the crowning of *Andrew* pressed her to resolute, and execute in an instant. The Catanian spake of ridding her of the Hungarians, yet only meant the King: *But the most notorious mischeifes are never so plainly proposed; they are disguised, and the intelligent understand with halfe a word.*

About this time the Queene is with childe, and that which should re-unite her heart with her Husband, augmenteth the dis-union; for the Catanian, supposing the King might bee the more authorized, by seeing himselfe a Father, and that Friar *Robert* might procure his resolution, to banish all those who abused the youth and goodnesse of the Queene, caused her to swal-
low

An exec-
crable
crime ever
disguiseth
it selfe,
when one
proposeth
it, who if
he should
see it in
his man-
ner, would
abhor it.

To take ill
counsell
upon faile
shewes
is to drink
poyson in
a golden
cup.

Who resi-
steth not
evill, con-
sents ther-
to, and
who hin-
ders it not,
countenan-
ceth it.

low the poison of an horrid
counsell, in the sweetnesse of her
liberty, saying; Heaven would
do her a great favour, if he made
her a Widdow, before she were
a Mother.

In mine opinion this Lady
was too well borne, and her
courage too noble, to consent to
the death of her Husband. But
perhaps she let the Catanian doe
what she would, who had whol-
ly ruled her from her Cradle.
For indeed, her soule darkned
with the fogs of hatred she bare
towards *Andrew*, no more ser-
ved her, than her eyes, which
passion had blinded. Shee was
advised to suffer her selfe to bee
led by Fortune, which rather fa-
voured great confidence than
vertue that preached cowardly
patience.

The resolution of killing the
King is undertaken between the
Catanian, the High Steward her
Sonne, her Daughter, her Son
in

in Law, *Charles* Duke of Du-
razzo, and the Duchesse *Mary*
his wife, all who agreed upon
this point, that their own safety,
the Queens contentment, and
the good of the Kingdome de-
pended upon this act. Some Ca-
binet Lords participated there-
in, not being able any longer to
endure the harsh and proud pre-
dominance of the Hungarians.
*It is a great unhappinesse for a
stranger to be in grace out of his
Countrie, for he is enforced, ei-
ther to suffer himselfe to be oppres-
sed by envy, or commit unspeakea-
ble outrages to free himselfe from
the envious.*

There was no great distance of
time between the plot and the
execution. The night which pre-
ceded it (thus sayes *Collenutius*,
but affirms it not) the Queene
twisted a cord of gold, and silke;
Andrew asked her, what she
meant to doe with it, she answered,
It is to hang thee. It may be
S hate

It is a
great un-
happinesse,
for a stran-
ger, to be
prosperous
in a for-
raine
Country.
Envy must
be tamed,
or you
must suf-
fer your
selfe to be
mastered
by the en-
vious.

Many things come into the thought, which the tongue uttereth not.

hate suggested such a thought to this woman, but there is little probability that she spake it. For either she had no part in the plot of her husbands death, (and this word made her culpable) or she was in the conspiracy, and that sufficed to discover, and convince her at that time, of an execrable wickednesse, having undertaken it; and of extreme impudence, having pronounced it. But we must speake no more of it, lest we thrust suspicion into an heart lesse sensible & distrustfull than *Andrewes* was. It would not have been forgotten in the letters, and declarations, the King of Hungary his brother, wrote to the Pope, and Christian Princes.

Many had knowledge of this impious complot; *But a secret is not long concealed, when a third man knowes it*: Those who were embarqued therein, fearing to be discovered, hastned execution, saying, In matters of such impor-

The discovery of the conspiracy advanced the effect: *Macrinus* finding

tance, nothing must be done to halves. *Great crimes never ought to enter into the imagination, but when they are resolved on, they must be acted*. They are not unlike certaine viands, of which if we eate little they are poyson, and nutriment, if plentifully.

The resolution being made to put *Andrew* to death, a silken cord was chosen to be the instrument: the time, night: Executioner *Charles Artois*, whom the Catanian had created Lord Chamberlaine: the place, the *Queenes* withdrawing roome. What monster of cruelty! What monstrous cruelty! A King unsafe in the company of his wife, and her Cabinet become a place of execution. The Palace of kings is holy, the Mount Palatine was sacred, and venerable, onely because the Emperour there made his abode.

At the time of this hideous, and damnable conspiracy, *Andrew*

S 2

himselfe to be discovered by *Maternianus*, executeth by *Martialis* what he had conceived against *Antonie*. There is more peril to resolve, than execute a conspiracy

The house of a Prince is sacred, every one ought to be safe there, as in a Temple.

is called from his chamber, to come unto the *Queens* lodging: others say, that being in bed with her, he was awakened, as upon some matter of much importance: but in one kinde or other, putting his head out of the chamber doore, either to go in, or out, the murderers cast a cord about his necke, strangled him, and tyed him to the barres of the window.

All the City was in an uprore at so execrable an act, and so cruell a spectacle, Could the people have had means to force the Castle, they had not sought for the murderers any where, but in the *Queens* company. They fell upon certaine Calabrian Grooms of the Chamber, who dyed innocent. The Actors saved themselves at Constantinople, many were taken, but the Catanian caused some to be strangled, and others to have their tongues cut out, who might discover her wicked-

wickednesse: the punishment whereof she already felt in her soule, by the torment of her conscience, and imagination, that all aimed at her, that her shadow acculeth her, that Executioners torture her, that the Sunne denyeth her his beames, that her presence slackneth his rising that he may not pollute his bright rayes with an object so detestable.

Fryar *Robert*, after this miserable fact, shut himselfe up, there was no way of safety for him, he beheld nothing round about him, but precipices. I know not what became of him. The History speaking of his authority, threatneth him with ruine, but tels not how it happened. Questionlesse, it was not without repentance to have been in the Court, as out of his Element, and led a life quite contrary to his Profession. Good religious men rest in the discipline of the Cloyster,

Thyestes, after his incest, fled from the earth and hell, and said, his presence slackned the Sun, not willing to pollute his rayes with the wicked a man.

An evil man feareth his own shadow.

A religious man from his rule and monastery is out of his element.

Birth of
Carobert
Posthumus,
sonne of
Andrew,
the five &
twentieth
of Decem.
1346.

Youth and
solitude
incompa-
tible tho-
rowout
the world.

feldome stir abroad, live strictly,
pray and meditate incessantly,
study when they can, persevere
in all purity, and have more care
to do well, than speake well. For
*at the day of judgement good deeds
shall be weighed, not smooth
words.* Ioane was delivered on
Christmässe day of a Sonne, and
the joy of this birth was troubled
with the newes, that Lewis King
of Hungary came with an huge
Army, to revenge his brothers
death. Her Councell besought
her to marry, that she might
have some one, to entrust with
the mannage of her Armes. She
matched with Lewis of Taren-
tum, sonne of the brother of
King Robert, one of the goodliest
Princes of that age.

The marriage consummate, she
thereon askes counsell and dis-
pensation of the Pope, declaring
unto him; her age permitted not
solitude, nor could her Councell
endure to see her deprived the
comfort

comfort of a husband, that many
Princes sued to her, that the af-
fection she bare to her owne
house fixed her thoughtss upon
the Prince of Tarentum. The
Pope hereof advertised the King
of Hungary brother of Andrew,
shewing it would be scandalous
to Christianity to see a wife mar-
ty againe after she had killed her
husband, and match with him
who was suspected to have been
both an adulterer and murderer.
In the meane time they lived
contentedly, regarded not ru-
mours which sought to offend
them, nor resisted them but with
stopping their eares, and made
faire weather, not imagining
what the eternall Iustice had or-
dained for them. But the Queen
understanding the King of Hun-
gary marched with a huge army
to revenge the death of his bro-
ther, sent a Gentleman to him
with a letter to this effect.

*Brother, were I able to expresse
my*

Scanda-
lous mar-
riage with
adultery,
and the
murder of
a husband.

So the
condem-
ned make
sport
whilst the
Iudges
give sen-
tence for
their con-
demnati-
on.

Great
graces are
dumb, and
little,
speake.

The inheri-
tance is
better lo-
ved than
the heire.

my sorrow unto you, I should not
feele the violence thereof, which
exceedeth my force, and your ima-
gination. This Gentleman will
shew you it to be such, that no-
thing can ease it but revenge upon
that which is the cause thereof:
For which purpose, and for the
good of my kingdome, I sought not
out a second husband any where
but in mine owne house, and have
freed my selfe from the sollicitati-
ons of other Princes, who more lo-
ved my state than me. With his
valour and my courage I hope to
derive light out of darknesse, and
to make truth triumph over ca-
lummy. Much may you fortifie my
hope, if you entertaine as much af-
fection for the innocency of the
sonne, and protection of the mother,
as I have to tell you, that I am
your deare sister.

JOANE.

The answer of Lewis was very
rough, and couched in few
words:

The

The loose life you have lead
heretofore, the absolute power you
have taken upon you, the neglect
of revenge, your second marriage,
and the excuse you make to punish
the fault, are sufficient to con-
vince you had a share, or gave
consent to the massacre of your
husband: for which cause you
ought not to expect to have either
friend, or brother.

LEWIS.

This letter ran every where
up and down, was favourably
read by turbulent and calumni-
ous spirits, and the people who
overprise bruits, and who upon
the first mention of evill against
any, forget all the good had bin
done, scandalized the life and ho-
nour of the Queene.

But as truths commonly passe
amongst impostures, it was said
throughout the City of Naples,
the Catanian had perpetrated
this horrible parricide, and that
the Count Ebule her sonne high

S 5

Steward

The pro-
ple is the
Barbers
Py-annet
which
hearing a
trumpet
sound, for-
gat all she
had lear-
ned before
No man
is so great
a liar, who
speakes
not some
truth.

Exaltatio-
nis tam
egregie non
absque ma-
cula pudici-
tie libes-
tate conce-
denti in
Æthiops
devenit.
Nam & si
fas credere
non sit, non
desuere qui
dicere
laocinio
Philippæ
Iovini
ad amplex-
us devinisse
Robur.

Steward of Naples, had hastned execution, that he might the more freely enjoy the Queens affection.

The many benefits (saith *Boccace*) she had conferred on *Robert Cabanes*, sonne of *Philippa*, and the Count *Mursan* husband of *Sancha* her daughter, made it it be thought, this liberality was rather a reward for love, than merit, and that it could not be done, but with losse of the honour, and chastity of the Queen: nay although we should not thinke so, yet were there many who said *Philippa* was the secret instrument of love, and familiarity, between the Queen and her sonne. This mischief is credible enough, for nothing important was either treated, or deliberated, but in the presence of *Philippa*, *Robert*, and *Sancha*, nor was the Cabinet open to any other. But he thereupon concludes we must slip over these suspicions:

For

For the least familiarities of men wound the reputation of the most honest women.

Ladies, who will secure their honour from the arrowes of slander, must not give any occasion of suspicion, their chastity is as a Diamond, which for one sleight blemish loseth much of its value, and although it somewhat exceed the ordinary size, the worth doth not therewith proportionably increase. This Princess was nothing carefull to disapprove in publicke, by actions, pure, and sincere the evill judgements, which were made of her secret deportments.

Domestick examples perverting more than forrain, had fixt upon her heart some disposition to voluptuous pleasures, King *Robert* had had by a faire Mistress of his a faire daughter named *Mary*, wanton, & much beloved of *Boccace*; but such thefts in these times were covered: no

man

She is not fully chaste, who occasioneth the doubt of her chastity. Life must be changed, to alter the language of slanderers.

Plutarch saith the land should not be tilled, the fruit whereof must of necessity be hidde.

Ioane had
four husbands, *Ad-*
rew, P. of
Hungary,
Levis of
Taren-
tum, *Imes*
son of the
King of
Majrica,
Otho Duke
of Brunf-
wick.

man durst publikely till the lands,
the fruits whereof might not be
reaped, but by stealth. Night and
secrecy were then the Curtaines
of love, nor ever did the Sunne
surprize *Mars* with *Venus*. This
Princesse hath beene condemned
for great incontinence, yet doe I
find things, in her, which sei-
dome happen in those who are
more curious to preserve their
beauty perfect, than their consci-
ences and filed.

All the choyce wits of that
time, praised her; she was infi-
nitely beloved by her people of
Italy, and Provence; shee had
three husbands after *Aadrew*;
the bravest Princes of that time,
and as it is not likely their birth
disposited them to a life disgrace-
full, or a servitude shamefull, so
there is not any apparance their
courage contented to dissemble
offences so palpable and preg-
nant, which no man, how
good, or patient soever, could to-
lerate.

But

There are
injuries,
which pull
patience,
out of the
most ten-
der and
peaceable
natures.

But admit shee entertained
affection for others, why sought
she out so curiously youth, beau-
ty, strength in her husbands, did
she not well know that disho-
nouring them, she put her selfe
into hazard of the frensies of
jealousie, which transpor-
teth even bruite beasts to resent-
ment.

Had she beene foolish as they
make her, shee had chosen out
husbands who durst not mur-
mure against her pleasures. *Pop-*
pea Sabina desired *Nero* for a
friend, not a husband, doubting
lest the quality of an Emperour,
might cut off her liberty, and *O-*
tho her husband tolerated from
Nero, what he would not endure
in another. Princes do not long
suffer these flies about their no-
ses, they quickly free themselves
from their very shadowes, and
in matter of jealousie of state,
or love, suspicion creates a cer-
tainty.

And

Cratis fell
in love
with a
goat, the
male goat
for jealou-
sie butted
his head
against
Cratis, and
flew him

Poppea mar-
ried to *O-*
tho, would
not have
Nero for a
husband;
Plutarch
gives a
reason:
because
she was
wanton.

Great men
think all
true, which
they be-
leeve,

And although she strayed a little from the rules, which they hould who are, or would seeme chaste, and that her affability ever cast some blemish upon her modesty, she recompenced this levity, with so many other great and noble vertues, that calumny was stricken dumb, meeting with an incomparable bounty, a royall magnificence, piety without scruple, liberality without choice or limit. There was at Naples, so huge, and dreadfull a Tempest, that it was thought the Sea would swallow up the City, nothing was to be heard every where, but lamentations, or rather yellings; She went barefoote with all her Ladies to the Churches, to implore the mercy of God; Ships in the haven were wracked, a Galley wherein were foure hundred malefactors, was saved.

The Pope exhorted her to execute justice upon the parricide.

The

A hideous tempest at Naples the 25. of Novem. in the yeare. 1343.

The Nobility of the Kingdome besought her, shewing how she stood therein ingaged to them, to her selfe, and her Sonne; Nothing so much blemished her reputation, as her delay of this duty, so that being no longer able to refuse them, she proclaimed a great meeting, appeared there in a Throne of Majesty, and easily found the power which the presence of a Prince hath over subjects. The dumbe eloquence of her eyes which reflected no lesse feare, when they were incensed, than comfort when pleased, effectually served her intention. she spake in this manner.

Queene Ioane's spech.

I Neither wish my selfe so much ill, nor desire such contentment to mine enemies, as to let them thinke I covet to derive from this assembly any approbation of my actions.

A meeting by the advice of the Prince of Orange.

The presence of the Prince works great effect in the hearts of his subjects.

Beauty is a dumbe eloquence. Though a Prince need not give an account of his actions but to God, yet he is bound for his reputation sake to publike satisfaction.

God is so good that he would not suffer evill, if he meant not to derive good out of it.

actions: I am not to give account thereof to any but God; Princes may on earth call together arbitrators of their quarrels, but must seeke out their Judge in heaven.

The afflictions which God laies on mee exceed the strength of my youth to beare, and my wisdom to remedy, but not my courage to tolerate.

I take them, as he gives them, and expect the good he will derive from my evill. But it is my comfort, that not depending on any thing, but his Sovereignty (where there is nought but justice, and truth) I am not subject to the judgement of men, whose passion is their reason.

Nay I have this comfort that I am defamed by those, whose praises I should esteeme injuries, and that such as understand their impostures retaine so much candor as to send them backe againe, from whence they came. The King of Hunga.

Hungary hath published against me all that, which the most invaginated calumny may invent, and hath licked up all the fume he could gather from infernall Cerberus, to throw it on mine honour. Hee makes me more wanton than Cleopatra, more insatiable than Messalina, more cruell than Clytemnestra. Had he found me in these infamous houses, where every one knowes why that place is frequented, he could not use me more unworthily.

He saies I have failed in loyalty to my husband. Eye upon treachery: he sayes I did it, because he thinks I should have done it, and that the harsh and barbarous conditions of his brother might dispence with a Queene, who being in the flower of her age, had no cause to complaine that nature denied her its perfections, or heaven favours.

It is not a silly trick to derive the proofes of the heart, from the fore-

Cleopatra beloved of I. Caesar, of Gr. Pompey, of M. Anthony Messalina wife of Claudius, the sinke of all abominations, Clytemnestra murdered Agamemnon her husband. We cannot judge the inward man by the outward. They who deceive their husbands, recompence with good word, evill deeds.

forehead? When he sayes I had nothing in store for Andrew, but scorn and contempt, and that I reserved my affections for others. What he produceth to condemn me, justifies me: who knoweth not that such as deceive their husbands, flatter them, whilst others, whose consciences upbraid them not, are more imperious, satisfying themselves with the interior approbation of their vertue.

He sayes, I am guilty of his death. It is false. If my sex permitted, I would challenge him, and make these words returne into his heart with the lye, or his life issue forth with his shame. I would quickly be resolved upon it, my courage should make difficulties abashed, and shame valiant.

If I would have committed this wicked act, I had meanes to performe it in a more secret manner, and to impute that to accident, which came by violence. I could

not

Often-times great mischiefs are imputed to accident, to excuse the plot.

not doe it alone, and if any one therein assisted me, let him speak, let him accuse me, I promise him pardon. The King of Hungary assures him reward, but Heaven threatneth both the one and the other with Hell. What say I? It is a jest, to speake to a Cyclope of the feare of the Gods.

He affirms I am married to the Prince of Tarentum, but have I done it without the Churches dispensation? without the advice of my Councell? without the necessity of my Kingdome? And where are the Laws, which forbid Princesses of eightene a second wedlocke? Must none but virgins marrye.

He addeth, I loved him not, one should have beene verie tender and compassionate of heart to affect his person King Robert made it appeare when he gave him to me, that he respected not so much my contentment, as his owne. The honour I did him to marry him,

ob-

Polyphemus mocked at Ulysses, who spake to him of the feare of the Gods. In many places second wedlocks have beene accused of incontinency.

So soone
as sove-
raigne au-
thority is
shaken, it
is lost and
confound-
ed.

Who is
glad of his
owne losse
never lo-
ved the
possession.

obliged him to retribution of ho-
nor, but he on the contrary sought
to have all authority, and I was
enforced to take it from him, that
I might not submit the Lawes of
my Kingdome to the discretion of
strangers. I was jealous of mine
authoriety, as of the apple of mine
eye, of the heart of my State. My
Ancestors taught me, that if this
rocke once totter, it cannot be stay-
ed, the end of its motion is ruine.
They say, I bewailed him not. Ve-
rily, were I bound to deplore de-
liverance from an insupportable
torment, I confesse to have done a-
misse, for my teares were quickly
dried up. That I neglected there-
venge of his death, this concernes
me not, those whom I entrusted
with the care of my Lawes, and
Justice must answer for that:
But revenge, not sorrow, have
brought me hither, to tell you I am
displeased with his death, as your
Queen, who considereth the sequel
of impunity, the scandall of other
Princes,

Princes, the reproach of this Na-
tion, and who should account her
selfe unworthy the Crowne God
hath placed on her head, if she em-
ployed not it, and her proper selfe
in the punishment of this Parricide,
protesting, there is not any
person of what quality soever,
whom I abandon not without hope
of grace, or pardon. I conjure you
to serve me in this designe, and to
take away the maske of passion,
that the integrity of justice may
appeare, and the Sun dissolve the
Ice, which hath hitherto covered
this wicked act.

The assembly thanked her for
this declaration, praised her ju-
stice, and the magnanimous care
she had of her reputation, which
could not any way be more sen-
sibly wounded, than by deferring
the enquiry, and punishment of
a crime so enormous and horrid,
the dissembling whereof were
injustice, and clemency, cruelty.

Hugo de Baux, Prince of O-
range

All Prin-
ces are
brothers,
and resent
the offence
of Princes.

To de-
spise the
punish-
ment of
great
crimes, is
to give
way to
much
greater.

To punish
inferiours,
is but to
crush little
animals,
saith Seneca

Erecto
in mari
equales in
conspetu
Neapolita-
nae urbis
medio ma-
ris in sinu,
ritu regionis
spectante
populo in
Philippam
corpi Mi-
sellam,
Sanctiam
& Rober-
tum.

range, Count of Avellina was appointed, with absolute and so-
veraign power, voyd of limitati-
on, to punish the guilty. He laid
not hold on wretched and mil-
erable creatures, which like little
animals do nothing, but foule the
fingers of those who crush them;
he caused to be taken many
Lords, many Ladies of the Cham-
ber, and Cabinet, then the Cata-
nian, the High Steward of Na-
ples her sonne, the Count Mur-
san her sonne in Law, and *San-
cha* her daughter. And that the
Common-wealth might pub-
lickly receive the satisfaction he
promised upon this proceeding,
the Procelle being drawn, he
without the Town erected a tor-
ture, wherein he exposed to the
eyes of all the City, and King-
dome, the Catanian and her
children, who suffered great tor-
ments, as an Antipast of some
farre more exquisite. The most
miserable thought themselves
happy

happy in comparison of such pro-
sperity. Not to be moved with
these examples, is as *Pirro's* Pig,
to eat barley greedily in the grea-
test violence of torment. *Boccaccio*
tells us not what they confessed;
but by the subsequent punish-
ment we may ghesse of the con-
fession.

Certaine dayes after, they are
dragged naked thorow the
Town upon a hurdle, then tyed
to three ship-masts, burning
pinfers twitched them, rasors
flaied them, and flames choaked
them. The Catanian old and
weake, dyed in the midst of the
torments, her heart and entrails
were torne out, her head set up-
on one of the gates of Naples, and
the rest of her body turned into
ashes. Her daughter *Sancha* was
burnt alive, *Robert* her sonne,
half roasted in the fire, was drawn
thence alive, and as if the pu-
nishment had been too gentle
for publicke satisfaction, the peo-
ple

Enraged
hatred en-
vieth the
executio-
ners com-
mission.

Egineta counsell'd *Pausanias* after the victory of *Plato* to hang *Mardenus* his enemy on a gallows.

You counsell me not well, said he, it only is proper to Barbarians to be cruell to the dead.

ple. haled him thoroughout the City in the dirt, and kennels, then pulled his heart and bowels forth, rent him in pieces, and there were some who barbarously inhumane, tare him with their nailes, and fixed their teeth upon him, not so much for revenge, as through fury, and brutishnesse.

This history is come to its period, it goes no further, he that would know how *Queen Ioane* went out of this tragedy, must travell farther therein, than we have done. It sufficeth to tell you the Catanian drew upon the Kings and Kingdome of Sicily a deluge of calamities, fastning misery, as with nailes of Adamant, to the Crowne of Naples, never prosperous either for *Ioan*, her foure husbands, her sister, or those of her race.

Lewis King of Hungary, entered twice into Naples, as into an enemies Country to revenge his brothers

brothers death, he enforced the *Queen* to retire into Nice, put the Duke of Durazzo to death at Aversa in the same place where his brother had been strangled, *Mary* his wife escaped into Provence with her two daughters in the habit of a Franciscan. The Pope declareth the *Queen* innocent, treateth peace with *Lewis*, she adopts *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, sonne of King *John*. *Charles* Duke of Durazzo revolts against *Ioane*, besiegeth her in the Castle Ovo, makes her yeeld, causeth her with her sister to be strangled, & usurps the Crown. *Lewis* King of Hungary dyes a Leaper, *Charles* is slaine by *Elizabeth*, She by the faction of *Charles*: *Ladislaus* her sonne dyed of poyson in the imbrace-ments of a Lady.

Ioane the second succeedeth, marrieth *Jaques de Bourbon* Earle of March for her second husband, who unable to correct,

The King of Hungary had a black standard whereō was portrayed the strangling of his brother.

Queene *Ioane* strangled at Naples the 22 of May 1372

Joane had two favourites, her husband cut off the head of one, and she stabbed the other.

or tolerate her imperfections, forsakes her, and shuts himself up in a Cloyster. She adopteth *Alfonso*, and having nothing constant in her, but her inconsistency, revokes the adoption, sought to kill him, and declareth *Rene* Duke of Anjou, Earle of Provence, her heire. He did not long enjoy her Crowne. In all this we must conclude, that *success* waiteth on unjust prosperity, that there is not any wickednesse which beareth not its paine and repentance; that he who perpetrates one, expects the opportunity of another, that whilst the worlds Theater lasteth, Fortune thereon will play her Tragedies, and will make it appeare, she flatters those she meanes to stifle.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS upon the fall of SEIANVS.

Written in Italian by *Gio. Baptista Manzini*.

And
Translated into English

BY
S^r. T. H.

Second Edition.

JUVENAL.

Descendūt statuae, restemq; sequuntur.

LONDON,

Printed by *Thomas Harper*,

1639.



THE AVTHOR
to the Reader;



*He two first
Bookes of the
Life of Seja-
nus, distingi-
shed into three,
were casually taken from mee;
as if Fortune likewise persecu-
ting him on paper, would not
suffer any memory of him to
servive, but ruine. I could have
gathered them together againe,
had I not feard some might have
imagined me ambitious to stand
in competition with him, who*

already hath laboured on the same life. There live many Gentlemen in Florence, who saw mine, before that other passed the Mountaines. Notwithstanding I have not proceeded in this undertaking, as well because the worke was then the birth of too Greene an age in me, as for that I supposed this sole remainder (the picture of a perfect Courtier) figured in the fall of this Unhappy Man, might suffice to entertain thee with contentment. I leave thee Reader to thy freedom, but prejudice not what my heart conceives of Fortune, for no sooner shall you have led your eyes along to the end of this Booke, but will confesse, that of this disease of the world, my opinion hath beene very sound.



OBSERVATIONS upon the fall of SEJANUS.



More cannot a man receive, nor more Fortune give. If she raised not *Sejanus* to Regality, it was because she thought it a lesse matter to afford a head for Empire, than to resigne the head of Empire as a prey to one who would tyrannize over it. Here either weary, or repentant, she began to forsake *Sejanus*. Health, Wit, Riches, Incense, and Scepters,

ters, were gifts to have impoverished the giver her selfe, had she not even whilst she gave them, with a covetous hand, snatched them back again.

He born at *Vulsinium*, (at that time a rich Towne of *Tuscany*, which was afterward consumed by lightning, heaven alwayes ayming to thunder-strike, where any pretend above humane condition) was advanced by Fortune to Courts, offices, dignities, trust of a Prince, supereminency over all, and lastly to Altars and Incense. He had derogated from the condition of man, and not been tyrannized, but the tyrant of Fate, if he had with equality of fortune concluded the beginning of so ample fortunes. Earthly felicities are not unlike the *Ephimera*, they dye the same day they are born.

Many yeares are required to give growth and height to a great tree, and a short time sufficeth

siceth to cut it downe. Let *Iupiter* boast his thunder bolts, *Inno* her serenes, *Thetis* her calmes, but Fortune in her kingdome hath things more unstable than any of these. The politick threads spunne by *Sejanus*, to weave the royall purple to himselfe at this time, are sooner practised than numbred. The tragicall story of his end, (become the fable of the multitude) shall now be rehearsed, rather for example than delight. *Sejanus* is unworthy of compassion, because unjust, but he notwithstanding is to be looked on with an eye of pitie, by such as penetrate the misery of humane condition, which hath nothing certaine, but the uncertainty of it selfe, and for amplest matter of its losse, the greatest heape of its gaires.

He riseth to purchase either precipices or thunders from heaven, who without sure foundation of merit, endeavoureth to

raile himself to that height of fortune which is to be aimed at by sole vertue, and supported by the onely power of that heaven, which hath reserved to it selfe the authority of giving and taking away kingdoms.

Heaven threatned the sinister events of *Sejanus*, with sinister predictions, willing thereby (as it were) either to sound a retreat to Fortune, or rather to advise *Sejanus* how little he should confide in these our fraile felicities. Ravens croaking, Cats enraged, the Bench whereon the Court-waiters sat thrown down, servitors by misfortune precipitated from the Caudine staires, were horrid prodigies, and Portentous prelages of future calamities. Yet was there none, who on these things durst make any evill construction, because the present state considered, it was no easie matter to beleeve an equall mutation might be made.

Sejanus

Sejanus was greater than his betters, lesse onely than his owne thoughts, and the world conceived that Fortune could doe nothing more in him, or that there was no other Fortune but *Sejanus* himselfe. *Dion* writeth, that such were the foundations of this mans greatnesse, that had God himselfe foretold his ruine, he would scarcely have been beleeved.

The Citizens so infinitely honoured, revered, feared, adored the name of *Sejanus*, that *Tiberius*, whole eyes imminent perill had unvailed, began to be jealous of himselfe, as well as of his Kingdome. *The name of that subject is ever perillous to a Prince, who is more often named than himselfe.*

To ruine so vast a frame in an instant, was to stand in danger to be oppressed: to suffer the increase thereof, was to oppress ones selfe. Behold to what condition

dition this unfortunate Prince is brought, who forgetting what he himselfe is, wholly resignes himselfe to the trust of one man, who being raised to greatnesse, (the precipice of the greatest) hath no other fidelity, but that wherewith he is trusted.

Among the people he saw himselfe despised, but which is more, he knew himselfe despicable, as he who too basely had suffered all his functions to be possessed by *Sejanus*, equally favoured and suspected. He began to feare the losse of that authority, which (as the soule) guideth, and governeth all, and which as a huge pile eminent above the rest, falleth not, but to ruine the Kingdome.

Combated by a thousand thoughts, nay mastered by unspeakeable feare, it behoved him rather to endeavour the meanes how to recover his Empire, then preserve it. He was not ignorant that

that *Sejanus* ascribed the Empire to himselfe, the government of *Caprea* to *Tiberius*. Behold how Fortune had hood-winked this miserable man, teaching him to dally with death. *Tiberius* knew it was neither time to sleep, nor runne. Great remedies were needfull in so pregnant suspitions; dissimulation was necessary with a man so powerfull, but first he must seeke for safety, then revenge: *Most times the true remedy of treachery, is, to seeme not to know it.*

To understand the minde of the one and other, *Cesar* began with strange art to ply both *Sejanus* & the Senate with Letters, in one day varying a thousand things concerning himself: sometimes by declaring to him he had nothing now alive in him but infirmity, he confessed an impotency, which secured *Sejanus* to lay more lively colours upon his designs: and straight with his owne

own hand certifying the Senate of his health recovered, made them sacrifice, despite to modesty. By which means the one had a large field to negotiate, the other to feare. One while he praised *Sejanus* in his letters, and yet sometime writing backe he blamed him, magnified other of his favourites, and depressed others: To conclude, the whole Court depended on the uncertainty of his practises, which had nothing regall in them, but doublenesse.

Sejanus was sometime suddenly puffed up with fresh favours, and as suddenly stupified with these unaccustomed proceedings. Conscience assailed him with suspition: The memory of predictions surcharged his soule with impressions of horror. It fell not into his thought to feare, beholding himselfe so powerfull, yet dard he as little to confide in his own power, hearing such novelties.

Con.

Conscience (the scourge of the wicked) permitted not he should know that houre to be come, wherein he must either conquer or dye. He withall his might vapoured forth the smoke of his greatnesse. He knew his practises were not unknown to *Tiberius*, he was therefore to attempt the issue with violence, not expected, though doubted: For great actions should rather be speedily executed, than consulted on. Death was the head of the way, flye it he could not, well might he ennoble it. It was therefore better to meet it than expect it, sell it than suffer it. Who knew, whether Fortune would not (as heretofore) favour sudden Countells.

He must scale the conclusion with an act, if not eminent for vertue, yet memorable for hardnesse. *Dangers many times by encountering them, are avoided. Good Countells from delay, wicked from violence.*

violence take force. But who understands not, that heaven corrupteth the counsels of him, to whom the revolution of Fortune is destined.

In the meane time the multitude (amongst which nothing is more easie than change of affections) perceiving in so short a time, so great alteration of affaires, began to waver.

They failed not to spread rumours of innovation into the eares of the people, to whom the power of *Sejanus* was either hatefull or suspected. *Each motion serveth for reason to just feare; with long expectation every occasion findes favour.*

Offences heretofore tolerated, or dissembled, began to be unmasked. Woe to him who hath fulfilled his felicity. There wanted not those who attributed to *Sejanus* the blame of all *Tiberius*'s his exorbitances, compassionately deploring the memory of

Caius

Caius Silius, of *Titus Sabinus*, and *Cremutius Cordus*, to unjustly deprived of life.

He that governeth another, walketh on a rope, which though made of golden threads, is not the more stable, not understanding how well to use the counterpoise of justice; If he put one foot out of the right place, the ordinary successe is to remaine hanged.

Many, not to contradict, rather than not to be silent, added probability to truth. Others hoping change of fortune, with alteration of government, seconded the beginning of his ruine, whom themselves acknowledged for their raiser.

It is very likely he could not have been advanced, without an infinite number of men obliged by his benefits, and yet amongst so many publicke invectives, there was not any one that defended him! But what! *Small benefits*

benefits are easily forgotten; great, ordinarily surcharge. Some cannot requite a good turne, other know not how. Of the ungratefull, some neglect it, other abhor it. Nay the world is come to that passe, that good turnes are thought dangerous. The ungratefull man, loth to repay a benefit, would not there likewise should be any, to whom he may account himselfe a debtor. Thus happened it to poor Sejanus. The end of the obligation, and of the obliger was esteemed an advantageous exchange. Good, as evil equally concurrereth to the oppression of that unhappy man, who once begins to be distasted.

All the motions of *Sejanus* breathed forth sadnesse. He who heretofore haughty and proud, accustomed arrogantly to vaunt supereminency, now wholly mortified, shewed how much he was burdened with weighty cares. His eyes, reconcentred with

with his imaginations, manifested in their wannesse what anxieties tormented him. At which time oppressed with griefe, or through distraction of thoughts, not rendering salutes, he seemed to despise those who saluted him, so that his proper hurts unhappily conspiring with fortune, he encreased the number of the malevolent, and lessened the troopes of partiall followers.

Tiberius thus judiciously spinning the web, honoured both *Sejanus* and his sonne with the dignity of Priesthood, as it were advising him to stand prepared to sacrifice a victim to Fortune. To these honours he added the Proconsular dignity, rather to augment doubt in the people, than titles for *Sejanus*; yet much would he have promised himselfe by his dexterous wit and Genius, if he could have found meanes to present himselfe before *Cesar*, whereupon under pre-

pretext to visite a beloved feminine finger of his, afflicted with a certaine infirmity, having sought to come to *Caprea*, hee was suspended by *Tiberius*, who would not admit his presence, more for feare of his force, than that he refused the shortest and safest way to give an end to such dangers, affording accessse for once, to bereave him of it for ever. So, many times it is better to tolerate by dissembling, than precipitate those counsels, which by delay are not wasted, but fortified. In infirmity, there is not any thing more mortall, than unseasonable medicines.

His eyes were darkned with horror, and mind with terror, seeing upon one side the occasions of bounty taken away, on the other side, those to whom he had beene bounteous, now to pay him with ingratitude. The errors committed in prosperous fortune, threatned him with ad-

adverse. Those that adhered to him, told him many things variously related from the people, but almost ever against him: Whereupon astonished hee lost courage: But hope, which never failes whilst life lasteth, comforted him, that these fears were rather objects of conscience, than incentives of prudence. *Tiberius* by him unburdened from the greater toyles of Empire, secured from his greatest enemies, entertained and noursed in his chiefeft delights: *Tiberius*, who found no quiet, but in the bosome of his vigilance, would not so loone (said she) precipitate him, whom he so much had heretofore professed to affect. The number of allyes, of obliged friends, affectionate souldiers, people, who (as yet) adored him, ministred rather matter to lessen sorrow, than feare.

This verily was the beginning of the knowledge and apprehension

sion that *Sejanus* had of the instability of those things, which are subject to Fortune. Here began he discoursing with himselfe, to derive consequences from seeing that *Tiberius* hitherto an impenetrable hider of his thoughts, honoured *Cajus* with Priestly dignity, and praised him as one who should succeed him. Here desperation began wholly to tyrannize over those reasons, which in the mind of *Sejanus* were fed by that most tormenting desire of rule. *The certainty of the succession of a Prince, is the oppression of his hopes, who pretenderth to principalltie.*

Here, as *Sejanus* openly lost courage, so Fortune partiall to animosity, began manifestly to persecute him. A powerfull enemy of his (Prefect of *Spaine*) was freed from the heavy blame of exorbitant offences, whether they were reall, or objected by *Sejanus*. *The exaltation of ene-*

mies,

mies, is the beginning of proper depression. One scale of the ballance goes not up, but the other sinks downe. *Tiberius* wrote of the death of *Nero* to the Senate, and naming *Sejanus*, did it without usuall attributes. He forbade that any one should hereafter dare to sacrifice to a man. *Poore is the God-head, where the Deity rests upon an edict.*

By these wayes *Tiberius* lessened the reputation of the Favorite with the people, which useth to bee the first and most grounded foundation of greatness. The troupe of attendants to wait on him from his house, was not so frequent, because some, not to be suspected by *Tiberius*, (whose sly practises were now discovered) certified *Sejanus* of their leaving him, rather jealous of their owne good, than of anothers. The smokes, as well of sacrifices on Altars, as of Pride and Ambition in the head

head of *Sejanus*, beganne to decline.

His favorites were no longer honoured, and were they, it was rather in respect of dignity than person. Injustice dispoiled of the mantle of his authority, walked no longer thorow *Rome*, for Fortune having put knives upon it, it could not freely stirre up and down without danger. To these turmoyles, so much the more weighty as they were new, crosse omens of predictions were added. From a statue of *Sejanus* smoking, the head taken off, to discover the cause of it, a great Serpent was seene suddenly to issue forth, and the head set on againe, there was a knot found about the neck of it. A while after hee sacrificing to a statue of Fortune, shee eyther not to see him, or because she could not endure him, turned her head away, shewing this wretched Courtier how little he should confide

in

in the vanity of that Fortune, which knowes not how to bee stable, even in marble.

Among such hatefull prodigies, a thousand torments vexed the soule of unhappy *Sejanus*. Vaine, and frustrate was now the thought of commotion, hee understanding the aversion of the people from his affaires, and knowing the Senates love towards *Caius*. Great attempts are achieved in the increase, not diminution of fortune. We must not hope for stability from this inconstant Lady, whose favours are alwaies so much the more pernicious, by how much the more they render us secure and confident. He watched whole nights with his pains, which could shew him nought else but *Chimeras*: He knew no other repose, but that alone, which the want of it in the bosome of toyle-some wearinesse begat. The morning ayre that awakened him

V

were

were his sighs, which invited him to toyle. He thought every day the last, every last would have been deare to him, so it were not delayed; *For much more painefull is the feare of death than to dye.* (Poore *Sejanus*) the heap of so many crimes never came to deserve, that the punishment should so long be deferred.

A generous affection (understanding it was necessary either to vanquish evils, or end them) awakened in his soule a purpose to withdraw himselfe from danger by death: to tell the world, Fortune had been able to exalt, not de Presse him. But the blinde warrioresse, who would not bereave her selfe of the glory to have ruined him, in such his sad agonies, courted him with news, that *Tiberius* spake of conferring the Tribunitial power upon him, whereupon afflicting and comforting him at one and the same instant, she armed him with

hope,

hope, peradventure, because it should not be thought a small glory to her to have cast down a vanquished man, and overcome one who begged mercy. *Tiberius* nothing ignorant of publicke affection, and private suspicion, began (not despairing) to have the people and Senate on his part, to mannage the conclusion of this affaire, which carried in it selfe as much necessity, as perill. His designe was to levell the most grounded Fortresse of the Empire, and to pluck up the best rooted Plant the Earth hath nourished. The pretorian Cohorts honoured, preferred, united, countenanced, fortified, by him, depended all on his least commands. The greatest men, who governed in the Empire, as Prefects, Questors, Tribunes, Captaines, and infinite other officers, all railed by him, owed their service and estate to him. The most inward and nearest servants of

V 2

Tiberius

Tiberius had been by his meanes deputed to that service, and intimacy. The principall of the Nobility, enriched with the best places, either as his servants or Allies, were tyed to him. Of the multitude some were maintained in his house, some were dependant, some interested, so that many respectively, and almost all by adherence waited on him. Well might his ruine be commanded by *Tiberius*, but not expected. Princes are the heart, Subjects the hands. To confide was dangerous, yet necessary. Strangers were nothing fit for so great an affaire, which required much knowledge of the fact, and persons. Familiars were to be suspected, as well for the reasons mentioned before, as for that the best and most trusted servants, are those who soonest sell their master. Few were not sufficient for so great a businesse, in many secrecy was unsafe. To

do

do it in Rome where *Sejanus* had the pulse of his power, was to subject himselfe to sudden commotion of people, which is in prudence, so much to be avoyded. To doe it out of Rome was impossible, or most difficult. If he should call him to *Caprea* he would not come, but upon sure conditions, bringing along with him more perill for others, than for himselfe. Every thing was dangerous, and laying private interest aside, no other affection would have advised it. In the end *Tiberius* excited, put forward, and enraged, peradventure more by *Sejanus* his unhappinesse, than out of his own wisdom, calld *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, and secretly constituting him Captain of his Guard, he gave him the mannage of the whole matter, advising him what he was to doubt, what to avoid, what to accelerate, or ponder. He commanded him to confesse

V 3

with

with *Memmius Regulus*, whose fidelity was free from suspicion, he being an ancient rivall of *Sejanus*, and shewed him the necessity of secrecy with the other Consull, as being one of his enemies faction. Then, that he should ensnare; and assault minds with a thousand sorts of hopes, and feares, awaking the anger of the offended, the hatred of the reconciled; that he should fight with gold, promise dignities, remove souldiers, secure the army from tumults, and finally the matter not succeeding well, at the first stirres which should oppose their designs, he should introduce *Drusus* into the Senate for Emperour, by him so declared and pronounced.

Macro departing with these instructions, *Tiberius*, to whom amongst so many vices pusillanimity was not wanting; not trusting to the number of his people, to the situation, and straight-

ness

ness of that Iland, easie to be defended for a first assault by the souldiers of his guard, nothing maintaining the majesty of his place, but having prepared many ships, timerously stood expecting opportunity of escape from the first notice, that *Sejanus* foreknowing his designs might not prevent and oppresse him. *A bad Conscience is the Mother of Fear. Feare the Father of those ignoble acts, whose indignity is the Tombe of Reputation.*

These were the afflictions of *Tiberius*, the perils of *Sejanus*, the endeavours of *Macro*, who with *Tiberius* his letters entring full of cares by night into Rome, began the designed practise with *Memmius Regulus*, and *Gracilius Laco*.

The next day the morning being come, to shew the last Sun to *Sejanus*, whilst the Senate sat in the Temple of *Apollo*, *Macro* entring into the Palace met *Se-*

janus, whose soul, (which felt the stroke of Fate at hand) sad, that *Tiberius* had not written to him, prelag'd evill events. He was comforted by *Macro's* whispering in his care, that he had brought him the Tribunitiall dignity; whereat joyfull, he entered into the Senate house, by his friends (amongst whom this word quickly ran) honoured, revered, saluted, as much as by the malevolent he was feared, and flattered.

Behold how poore mortals are taken in a snare by Fortune; unhappy he, who trusteth her; but more unhappy, who to her commits those treasures that are enriched with nought else, but others wants. *Sejanus*, could neither enter, nor be received into the Senate with greater applause. Suspitions, doubts passed, were ridiculous entertainments of of present alacrity, as if it were tyed to humane Condition, that

a little sweet should be repayed with much acerbity.

Those enemies who most hated him, doubtful lest they might be discovered, treated amongst themselves, with a soft murmur, (but which they notwithstanding desired might be heard) to conferre some new honour upon him, cloaking their malignity, with seeming courteous; secretly negotiating it, as if they did it not for ostentation; but love. So, many times diffimulation useth to walke shamesfast, and reserved; not to hide her selfe, but that the novelty of habit may be of force to turne the eyes of such as are present, upon her.

Macro having published the authority received from *Tiberius*, removed from about the Senate and *Sejanus*, thole prætorian souldiers which were for a guard, and shewing certain letters, in which *Tiberius* expressed he would reward them, leaving

here a good number of souldiers of *Cesar's* guard faithfull by ancient service, and encouraged with greater hopes, he led the Prætorians to their stations, that no innovation might be made. In the meane time *Tiberius* his letter was read, brought by him to the Senate, which verily was long, as being stuffed with a thousand cunning policies. In the beginning it contained diversity of affaires, afterward with a short complaint of *Sejanus* as if with a slight inquisition, he would prepare mindes to greater matters. Then passing to other affaires, he in a while returned to complaine of him and commanding that two Senators, the most intimate with *Sejanus*, should be punished, ordained in the manner of an entreaty, grounded and necessitated upon suspitions, and State-rules, that *Sejanus* himselfe should be under custody. Requiring that one of the Consuls should

should be assigned to wait on himselfe, that he might come to *Rome* in safety.

Let him measure and argue upon the endeavour of this letter, who from the things said before, understandeth the suspicion of *Tiberius*. Let that poor Courtier penetrate the sudden effect of it, who knoweth how headlong Fortune is to throw one down from greatnesse. *The descent from a height, hath no lesser steps then a leap. Most times no distinction may be made betweene the supremest, and lowest fortune.* It is impossible that the 'pen should abstaine from flattering the eyes, whilst it bewails humane infelicity on these papers. No sooner was the Letter read, but those Senators hastily rose up, who most faithfull, most desre fate about *Sejanus*, detesting him, whom hitherto they had soothed, served, and adored. When Fortune departs, she carries friends

friends away with her. They, who once were of his faction, strove to be the first to forsake him, boasting to be the foremost in seconding the will of Caesar. Out alas, that friends flye the place, where they are tryed. *Profit and delight are those interests, which gaine love: Friendship is that sonne, which is alwaies buried with his Father.* By that which his dearest friends did, may be argued what his enemies endeavoured. They emulously rose up to accuse, calumniate, reproach him, and all the exorbitant excesses, not onely of *Tiberius*, but of the most abject creatures (unknown to *Sejanus*) were ascribed to him. There was not any, who was silent in his cause, and if there were, it was either to give time, that the multitude of accusations might not be lost, or to recommend themselves to the goddess *Memory*, to suggest them new causes

ses of complaints. The Pretors, and Tribunes encompassed him round about, doubtfull, lest he might get out to stir the people to commotion: A wary diligence, but needlesse, because feare (the sergeant that waits on conscience) had before any other tyed up his senses in such knots of dejection, that I suppose lesser were not necessary to hold a proud soule from abandoning manhood in so sudden a change.

Who will vaunt himsele of those greatneses, which as they may be acquired, may consequently be lost? *Regulus*, and *Laco* dragged him as guilty out of the Senate, at whose feet justice, and fortune had so long lyen prostrate. The people, lovers of novelties, ran together crying out aloud, and cursing *Sejanus*, to whose house (calling him the companion of *Caesar*) they but halfe an houre before hastned to wait on him.

The

The souldiers, who heretofore used to glory in his service, bottled themselves and grew proud at his captivity. They who before had adored him for a god, and honoured him as a Priest, hailed him as a victim to sacrifice. And so grievous, and certain was the ignominy imminent over the present perill, that it was rashnesse to envy one of those Oxen, which were sacrificed to him in the former flourish of Fortune. Oh how little is the affection of the people to be trusted, who so easily adore and murther men; that they cannot learne to pardon their own gods, not revered for the power of their thunderbolts: but made, and deified by their proper hands.

The name of the unfortunate *Sejanus*, was not onely the sport of fortune, but of the people likewise: the soules by him deprived the benefit of this pretious light ranne up and downe, with a thousand

thousand whippes to excite, and enrage as well his own Conscience, as the multitude, against him. Every one agreed to mocke him for those his elevated thoughts, which were to sink at the foot of the Gemonian staires. His statues were the Center of Speares and Swords. Let not the Load-stone boast to attract Iron with greater force, then did the marbles inscribed with the name of *Sejanus*.

This is that memorable day, wherein the impious barbarisme of the people taught him to dye, who had never lived. Brazen models were no longer melted with fire, but with wounds, for in the forge of Rome no other fell burnt, but of indignation, nor any other bellows were blown, but of Anger.

For no other cause had fortune raised so many statues to him, but to multiply an infinity of *Sejanusses* which should at this instant

instant be the miserable prey of a thousand torments, as though *Sejanus* were not capable enough of so many punishments, who only sufficed to commit so many crimes. There was not any one who sought not to get some reliek of him, to preserve it as the miracle of Fortune.

Exorbitancies of cruelty reflecting from the eye to the minde, afflicted the poore *Sejanus*; his soule oppressed with so insupportable accidents, languished, for the grieve of dying, yet would death have been the last of all evils, had it not drawn along with it so much ignominy. For finally *to goe out of life is necessary, but to be driven from it is shamefull.*

What may we beleeve, was the passage of this unhappy man from the Senate to the prison? He endeavoured to cover his head, to defend himselfe, I know not whether from shame or injury,

injury, but as he could not hide himselfe from his own conscience, so they discovered him to the eyes of others. Fortune scorned to triumph over a man masked, and heaven thought it not a punishment equal for demerit, to hood-wink him from those who had bin spectators of his crimes, and were the remainders of his fury.

They all cryed out, stormed, and exclaimed to have him killed; that he should be precipitated, who was the death and ruine of the Empire. The weakest cowards learnt courage, from the example of the strongest, the strongest envied the horror of the weakest, finding themselves unable to maintaine that fury, which stirred them up to revenge. The brest of *Sejanus* would have been the sepulcher of a thousand swords, nor would the souldiers who environed him have sufficed to preserve him, had

had it not beene for Fortune, who was desirous also to enjoy this last delight, to see a Hangman envied by a hundred Senators; every step was a death, every death was so much the more grievous, as it had the more of life. The passage of dying is a moment; and that which is dispatched in a moment, is no great evill, but this was so much the greater an evill, by how much the more they delayd him that death, which might take him from the ignominy which the eyes saw, and from the torments which sense feared.

Being come to the prison, either the frozen heart denied passage to the soule, or else the soule oppressed with so many objects, of stupifying paine, found not out the way to liberty; otherwise, if we thinke how little experienced he was of sinister fortune, or if we weigh the sorrow of losse, by the value, by the hor-

ror

ror of death, and by the feare of of conscience, it had beene impossible he should have lived a moment.

Let him not compassionate the misery of this wretched Courtier, who is not exposed to misfortune: And who knoweth not, that the most wretched manner of unhappinesse, is, to have once beene happy. If he deserve not pittie as *Sejanus*, he deserves it as a man become miserable. Every occasion should serve the just man to exercise his vertue. Courtesie, benefits, and clemency, are the three meanes wherewith hee who governeth, ought to oblige the minds and affection of the people, without which, Empire is nought else but a perillous servitude. It is true; that discretion ought to bee the distributresse of these treasures; That overmuch curiesie begets contempt; That benefits rather scattered, than well placed oblige

ligenot, and indulgence not limited is a security in sinning, it being ordinarily the condition of men not to know how to beare all slavery, nor all liberty. The neglect of these bounds, not knowne or not observed, afflicted the poore *Sejanus* the infelicity of whole pollicy had found more greatnesse, than safety. *Never was that power either stable, or lasting, which was gained by wickednesse,*

An Idea cannot be framed in the minde of any mortall man of a more exact states-man, then that, which then in a Chymara presented it selfe to the minde of *Sejanus*, made wise by the unhappinesse of his own fortune. He abhorred his former pride; it vexed him he had set himselfe as the scope of Envy. The Ostentation of *Tiberius* his favour, the violence of emulators, his having arrogated to himselfe Empire over that world that now refused

to

to support him, were such punishments as they were not only preambles, but lively touches of the Torments of hell, affording no space either for hope or amendment. Now (although late) he saw how dangerous it was to play with the Lion, who concludeth his dalliances with his pawes. Affections so long felt, or to say better, suffered, made themselves understood to belyers. They a little before had the face of hopes, and now were knowne to bee dotages. But what knew he not? Unhappinesse taught the miserable man, that, which prudence hath written in her Bookes; not at this time to make him cautious, but rather so much the more sad. From matters whence felicity drawes good, misery derives evill, nor can a greater mischiefe afflict a miserable man, than to be reduced to that point, that even prudence it selfe concur-
reth

red to render him unhappy.

In the meane space the Senate seeing none of the innovations, then feared either from the souldiers, who with hopes had been brought by *Macro* to the Legions, or from the people that followed his misery, to whose Fortune they had tyed themselves by an inviolable oath, assembling together in the Temple of Concord, that they might not be reduced to such straights, as to desire that which now the people expected from them, they condemned the miserable *Sejanus* to punishment.

Ah poore condition of Man, Beares, and Lions are fed for Gladiators, and men are fatted for the sicke of death. *Tiberius*, durst not command the death of *Sejanus*, and his servants durst execute it. The people stormed at retardation, finding more punishment in delay, then the de-

lin-

liaquent was to feeble in the execution, Every thing submits to Fortune, which ^{even} ~~never~~ embraces man, but to strangle him.

One sole tower sufficed to accuse, arraigne, condemne, and execute a monarch to much greater than others, by how much they had commanded over an Empire, hee over the Emperour.

Among so many his allies, friends, souldiers, followers, dependents, ministers, there was not one stirred a foote for him, nay, there was not one who stirred not against him. Every one runnes for wood to the tree, which the wind or hatchet hath layd along. At this time there could be no greater offence, nor perill, then fidelity; Hee was a true servant, who most speedily hastned the death of his Master, to free him from those miseries, which were not to moove mer-

cy

cy in any other Deity, then death.

Concord was ashamed to be at odds with Fortune, and lent her, her owne Temple to be a Theater, where the Sentence of this mans death, should be pronounced, and consequently the monitory of humane infelicity. Betweene the condemnation, & execution, nothing interposed, but the distance, which was betwixt the prison, & those staires, from whence the condemned must dismount in a leape, from supremest exaltation, to the lowest misery. He was taken from prison with such fury, that wee may rather say he flew thence. They dragged him to the precipice, and threw him headlong from the top. Let him imagine the manner, who hath the heart to think of it. No injury, or possible cruelty was omitted to be used, nay rather, that was made possible, which was not; for to

see

see the allye, the obliged, the servant, the friend to leade triumphantly to death, his greater, his benefactor, his Lord, is a spectacle more true than likely. They that were nearest were ambitious to have the opportunity to abuse him, the most distant followed him, sorry they could not have a hand in this action. Some cursed him, some upbraided him with his acts, and both the one and the other shewed him his punishment, to increase the sorrow with the terror, and augment the manner, although not the numbers of his death. Oh people, alike cruell in punishing, and in having so long deferred the chastisement.

Behold to what this man is reduced, whose favour men no longer desired, to whom starres afforded no gracious influences, nor Fortune gave blessings. That man, with whose revenges hell was increased, and to whose sta-

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tures

tues the gods envied the best sacrifices. Oh how much more secure is the poverty of *Irus*, than the riches of *Cressus*. That Engine, which more than other is raised toward Heaven, more than the rest approacheth thunders. Let him avoid the ascent, who fears the precipice. He that will enjoy the Court, let him not pretend to greatnesse with a Prince. He, who would know what greatnesse with a Prince is, let him make his last Will, for it is nought else but sudden ruine.

These are Aphorismes subscribed by a caytive, whose body could never find repose, not so much as in the bosome of death. The earth denied buriall to the corps of him who had filled so many Sepulchers with his cruelty. Friends defrauded it of that sepulture, to which for the sakes of the living, rather than of the dead, enemies themselves use to be courteous. Poore *Sejanus*, for an eternall refuge, found no

two yards of that land, whose vast Continent he had both commanded and governed.

Scarcely arrived he to the end of the last leape, rent, torne, and dismembred, when the people for three whole dayes dragged him thorowout *Rome*, bathing the stones with his blood, who had stained them with the blood of poore Citizens. After this, they on the fourth day threw him into the River, either that he should not returne to infect *Rome*, or that *Tiber* might beginne to be more fertile in monsters than the Sea. Behold the continued course of Fate, water was ever the Sepulcher of *Icarus*'es and *Phaetons*.

Fortune permitted not it should come into the peoples minds, to waste the remainders of this miserable carkasse with fire, because having exposed it to the cruelty of men, shee would likewise reserve it to the shames

of nature, to exercise its corruptions upon him. He, who had been fed with the blood and wealth of poor Citizens, was reserved to feed fishes in the water, worms in the earth, and birds in the air. Oh never enough adored divine Providence!

The funerals celebrated for this unhappy creature, ought rather to be abbreviated, than enlarged; for writing them, there is not any one who will believe them, & to credit them is hardly in man, for the impiety thereof surpassed the inhumanity of man.

The Orators were curses and reproaches. The sacrificers, cruelty and fury. The children and friends of *Sejanus* were the victims. The houses of the dead were purged from crimes with fire; The fires were quenched with the blood of his faction. The diversity of times made it equally dangerous to have offend-

ded

ded, and to have loved *Sejanus*. There is not any sacrifice of a worse condition, than that of envy.

Mercy appeared not in the Palace that day, for innocence was a crime, and he was not without crime, who became not an enemy to *Sejanus*. Behold how unsound is the friendship of an unjust Favourite.

There burnt nothing of pity to the soul of that unhappy man but some fire of revenge, since, under the title of *Sejanus* his friends, private enemies were pursued. In popular commotion, it is always the surest way to retire. The Prætorian soldiers murmured, that the night-guards were preferred before them in matter of fidelity. Many Citizens were accused and condemned for his friendship, some of which (*Marcus Terentius* excepted, whom Courage, Justice, and Fortune assisted) unfortunately stood upon their defence, which nought

X 3

availed

availed them, unlesse it were to give time, that the other Complices might be thrown headlong from the Capitoll; and because one kinde of death could not serve so great a number of proscribed, many slew themselves.

Tiberius not confiscating the goods of him who prevented the Hangman (to avoid the imputation of cruelty, which others executed) barbarously enforced men, who were desirous to leave rich heires, to kill themselves.

Behold death reduced to be the utmost, not of things terrible, but of mens goods: wherein so much was gained in an instant, as was possessed through the whole course of life. See how true it is, that *among mortall things there is not any more fading, than that power which hath not support from it selfe*. Thus was the whole day spent in wickednesses, the last of which was the generall joy that was made. This was a day dedicated to cruelty, in which the

miserable *Sejanus* saw, nay felt the setting of his greatnesse, to be the chastisement of his crimes.

Unhappy he who confides in his own greatnesse. *Poore is that power which rests in the brest of one man. Unfortunate is that man who dependeth on another*. Let the Courtier learne true politick arts, from the History of this wretched forlorn creature. Happy he, who studieth prudence on anothers books.

Let the Favourite of a Prince flye violence, as a thing which cannot continue. Let him flye Envy, against which none can long persist. Let him not raise his greatnesse on terror and cruelty, for they afford a great man more feare than power, more perill than safety. Let him rule with a flick hand, who would be loved; but yet with that temper, without which vertue concludes in vice. *Terror and feare are too weake bands to*

tye mindes; when once they are loose, who leave to feare thee, they will begin to hate thee. Fly ostentation, as the mother of Envy, as the daughter of Vanity. He who cannot within himselfe containe the favour of his Lord, shewes himselfe to be incapable, and consequently undeserving. Let him suffer himselfe to be honoured, as enforced, not as pretending it, ascribing honours to his office, not to his merit. Let him carry himselfe towards a Prince with reverence, and this is a flattery without vice. These are the Brokers of favour, because the common defect of great ones is pride, as those who measure themselves by their fortune, not by their merit. Let him esteem the favour of a Prince, as a thing which may be lost. Let him not run to honours, but expect them, not as one who seeks them, but deserves them; not as a necessary servant, but as a good. Of every thing

thing that succeeds well with him, acknowledging none from proper prudence, let him ascribe all to the vertue, to the merit, to the fortune of the Prince. Let him not labour for vanity, but justice, for merit consisteth not in well dissembling, but well doing. Very ill can vice cloke it selfe with the habits of vertue, neither doth the Ass dance to the Harpe, nor the Lyons skinne teach us to rore.

Let him not abuse the favour of his Patron, which would be either to despise it, or not to know it. Let him acknowledge it, as a gift, not as a reward: so doing, other will endeavour to deserve it that they may obtaine it, and he will likewise deserve it, whilst he obtaines it. In the affaires of a Prince let him use diligence, sollicitude, and counsell; in Counsels, sincerity, and secrecy. No lesse is secrecy necessary, than good counsell.

Let him not be perpetually by his Lords side for profit, and riches. With many to have heaped riches, hath not been the end but the change of evils. When the Prince hath given all, and the Favourite can do fire no more, they quickly grow weary one of another. Let him rather beg modestly, than importunately. Let him rest satisfied with conveniency, and not pretend to over much; for *he knowes not how to beginne to enjoy, who cannot tell where to make an end of having.* Vomiting is the Physician of Repletion. Let the Favourite be content with what he may have, for when the Prince hath given all he hath, to take it backe againe, it is necessary he should resume that which he before gave, and because to resume is shamefull, many times he is taken out of his sight, who makes him ashamed.

Let *Papinian*. Let *Seneca* speake, for whom it was a thing impossible,

sible to avoid riches, because they showred upon them; It was not lawfull to refuse them, for they were the gifts of a Prince. What Felicity then is this, where he who hath it, feares, who would have it, is unsafe, and who would refuse it, cannot?

Let him professe himselfe to be lesse with his equals, To be courteous, and affable: for they who are such, have had of their enemies greater friends, than the other of their fellow Citizens. Sometimes let him participate the favours of his Lord with them, not as a man who gives them, but begs them. To goe about to give them, is a profession of superiority; a matter odious among equals: *Proud favours reape contempt, and ingratitude instead of thanks.* In the mannage of State-affaires, where secrecy is not enjoyned, let him communicate with them, as well to avoid the note of one who arrogate

teth all to his owne authority, as to erre, rather with the opinion of many, than by himselfe alone. *The successe of an affaire provideth protectors for him, who consulteth it with others.* To aske counsell, is to honour him of whom it is required, yet is not liberty taken away from a man to doe as he plealeth. It is true, the quality of the person is to be observed. *For to aske counsell of ones better, is to be tyed to performance* In a businesse whereon thou hast consulted, good successe will be thy glory, evill thy excuse, having followed the advice of others.

Proteste equality with inferiours, not of manners, that it become not balenesse, but of pretentions. In commands be discret, *for he who seldome or never commands, is alwayes o' eyed.* Let the manner of commanding be by way of intreaty, for although his intreaty who hath authority

to

to command containe violence, let him notwithstanding doe it, for he shall be obeyed with promptnesse, which he may make use of for good manners, not obligation. Let him be milde, that too much severity keep not inferiours so distant that he cannot afterward employ them in his need. Let him be liberall in words, *for the gifts of poor Princes are favours, which cost nothing.* Let him be free of his deeds, if he be able, *for a benefit is the father of a benefit, and love is a fortresse to defend greatnesse.*

Let him use a lenitive with detractors of his honour, and the malevolent to his person. Let his scope be the end of the ill will, not of the ill willer. Exercising power against him, no place will remaine to exercise vertue. *There is no enemy whom benefits will not gaine.* Thou must have great hopes of his friendship, whose enmity hath found thee doing favours

favours. To kill a competitor in State-affaires, is too full of danger. Suddenly the Prince beginneth to suspect an excesse of imaginations in thy minde. Little can the head confide in him, who hath not born respect to its members. The people begin to feare, and hate thy greatnesse: and for that vertue borders neare upon vice, thy sollicitous care is judged interest, reverence, adulation, and justice, severity: Besides, power grounded upon mischiefe, was never long. Let him flye affaires odious to the people, for there is no force against hatred, which can availle: If he cannot decline them, let him shew himself to be the servant, not the superiour, a disswader, not a counsellour. Let him be the first to stand exposed to hurt. Let him execute his office with charity, not predominancy. Let him give time, expect time, comfort, encourage, assist: for promptnesse

over.

overcommeth every difficulty, and the glory will not be unworthy the danger.

Let him remember, that the life of great men is nought else but a perpetuall censure, and where censure is in continuall use, greatnesse is not lasting.

Finally, let him be that within himselfe, which he would be accounted by other. Let him endeavour to be vertuous, for vertue is its own reward.

Every man can envy the prosperity of fortune: in vertue even fortune her selfe findes what to envy. This alone addes a straine of immortality to him, who is mortall. He is not happy on whom treasures showre, but that man whose good rests in the minde. Well may fortune prick him, not wound him: strike him, not overthrow him. Adversity, losses, injuries, can doe that against vertue, which clouds may against the Sunne. It is true, that the Courtier

Courtier (being perfectly such) will come to be (as it were) no Courtier : for the Court is the receptacle of all fraud and vice, Let him therefore seeke to accommoode the best what he may : for the vertuous man knowes how to tread the paths of vice with an upright foot, and verily honest men can, and understand how to live, even under bad Princes. There is no other meanes to overcome Fortune, but by sole vertue; and although the just man is not free from the effects, yet is he exempt from the occasions; For if he be afflicted, he is afflicted as a man, not as wicked, nay rather he is exercised, as vertuous. *Attalus* the Stoicke said, I rather choose Fortune should entertaine me in her toyles, than in her delights. I am tormented, but I beare it courageously; I am killed, but I dye valiantly. This goeth well; unhappinesse is the fire which purifieth this gold.

For.

Fortune trusteth no man more than him who despiseth her, none despise her but the vertuous, and although every fortune faile us, it is no meane fortune to be vertuous.

But what said I of Fortune? Man hath no other fortune but himselfe. Who is so simple as not to know it, who so wicked as to deny it.

That *Sejanus* was in one instant adored and precipitated; raised to eminent height, depressed to lowest abjectnesse; environed by so many friends, besieged by so many enemies: not defended by any, persecuted by all, I confesse to be no small matter, yea such, that not injuriously men sought to cover it with supernaturall power, constituting an imaginary Deity, to predominate over these exorbitances of motion.

But what should a Prince do, (speaking naturally) seeing himselfe

Itself oppressed, betrayed, entrapped by a force, which takes all force from his favour; which instead of gratefully acknowledging him, seeks perfidiously to ruine him? If the chastisement of so great a disorder be committed to fortune, what assured necessity of strength defends him? If a great one depose not a lesser, who offends him, what is this greatness? And if this be not natural, to what purpose did nature put into us, that motion of anger towards revenge?

That friends in these calamities abandon the deposed, is not accidentall, but necessary. *The preservation of the Individuum, is the most principal amongst all the effects of nature.* Who seeth not, that a private man following the adherence to a Rebell against a Prince, of necessity is a companion of his crimes and fortune? He wrongs no man, who veraciously maketh use of his Reason.

It is the naturall reason of every one who is borne, what he can to aid, preserve, and defend his owne life; and even thus much is granted, which sometimes hath happened, that to preserve it without any fault, men have beene killed; and this the lawes admit (under the care of which is the preservation of each mortall) how much more lawfull then is it, without offence to any for a good Courtier to abandon a friend, not friendship; and to retire from perill, not from love?

That in one and the same time a thousand are discovered to be enemies, who have flattered thee, is no wonder; man being promptly disposed to arrive by what meanes soever to his own ends. The place, thou emptyest hath need to be replenished. That the subject flatters his Prince, is not against nature. That revenge expects occasion, is not un-

unusuall. They, who now are thy enemies, were never thy friends ; Vertue admits no change. That enemies offend thee, is no marvell, it were strange if they helpe thee. That *Sejanus* was precipitated from so exalted a Condition of felicity into so deepe a dungeon of misery, is not to be called an effect of fortune ; for if the causes (as wee saw before) be of nature, how can the effects be supernaturall ? Man is that silke worme, which hath woven a prison, and bands for it selfe, & when crimes come to incorrigible terms, they incur by divine permission those chastisements, which naturally follow bad beginnings. Who sees not, that ruine waiteth on him, who plaies over it. Every Autumn concludeth in Winter. Mirth endeth in teares. The souldier is reserved to the sword, the Marriner to the waves. It is not ascribed to Fortune, that a But-

terfly,

terfly, bold to dally with the fire, at last is wasted in the flame, and is it to bee called an accident of fortune, that that man, who is not able to governe himselfe, falls oppressed under the weight of the government of a whole world, and that which is more considerable, of another mans world ? As if it were lesse naturall to returne backe, then to depart from, to descend than to climbe.

Fortunate is that Courtier, who to gaine the favour of his Lord, makes vertue the instrument. Happy he, who having obtained it, retires, that he may not lose it. The end attained, he who further pretendeth, provoketh misery. He commits himselfe to airy vanity, to gaine the certainty of a Center, who descendeth from a height, not expecting to be thrown headlong. The measure of the foot is more safe than of the eye. Favour is

not

not inaccessible, but to preserve it is impossible, or difficult. The prize is gotten at the end, not at the beginning of the race. The end of good events, is the beginning of bad. *He who trusteth to himselfe is rash, who confideth in the favour of another, is meerly mad. The last day of servitude, is the first of liberty. Liberty in a generous and virtuous minde, is a pledge which assureth thee that such shall be thy fortune, as thou canst make it or desire it.*

This is as much as I can say to thee (O Courtier.) The favour of great men is an alluring *Siren*, which hath poyson on the tongue, and a sword in hand. Let *Sejanus* be thy Master, not thy guide, for very fond is hee, who walketh on ruines, and remembers not hee may fall.

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IUVENAL.

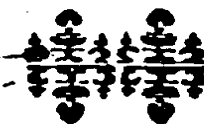
*Qui nimios optabat honores,
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelsa turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus, & impulse praeceps immane ruina.*

FINIS.

Considerations
upon the Life and Services
of Monsieur
VILLEROY.

Translated out of French
BY
S^r. T. H.

Second Edition.



L O N D O N,
Printed by *Thomas Harper,*
1 6 3 9.



To the King.

SIR,

BEhold here the ru-
ines of an excel-
lent Fabricke ,
whence goodly ,
and rare pieces may be taken
to beautifie new buildings.
They are the wise observati-
ons of the most ancient of
your Counsellors of state,
during his six and fifty years
service in the greatest state-
affaires of your Crowne.
They who account it no lesse

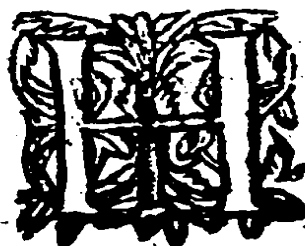
Y² glory

glory to imitate merit, then
to succeed to honours, will
make use of his example, as
of a Torch enkindled by
Truth, the eldest daughter
of light. If they follow him,
and the blast of passion, or
Interest make them not dis-
solve, or slip aside, your Ma-
jesties good intentions may
be seconded with happy
counsels, and your desires
with great and glorious ef-
fects.

P. Mathieu.



Advertisements.



HE who affords
not honour to
Monsieur Vil-
leroy, denyeth
it to vertue: I
was present at the last was done
him at Lyons in the Church of
the Minims, and there heard
his learned discourse, whom
Henry the great so much had
lov'd and esteemed, who had
beene for above foureteene
yeares the Chrysostome of the
Court, and of whom France
may more truly say, then Greece
of Pericles, that the Temple of
Perswasion was seated on his
lips.

And although he forgot nothing, which appertained to the merit, and dignity of this occasion, yet cannot I think though he well acquitted himselfe, that I stand disoblighd from what I owe to the memory of this man.

He reaped all that was exquisite, and excellent in this subject, I but gleane after him, yet it is sufficient I let it appear, that as to model the portrait of Mercury at Athens, they took the picture of Alcibiades, so perfectly to delineate a states-man, we must make use of Villeroy.



OBSERVATIONS
upon the Life and Services
of MONSIEVR
VILLEROY.



OW lively, and strong soever the apprehension of a noble spirit be, it hath need of helpe, and direction, and the greatest men seeke the assistance of those who preceded, in that profession they intend to pursue: It is to stand upon the highest degree of admiration, to imitate no man, and to be imitated by all. *Saxius Rufus*

Y. 4 followed

followed *Cicero*, *Cicero* found flowers of Greek eloquence in the actions of *Demosthenes*, who boasted to imitate *Pericles*: *Pericles* tooke *Pisistratus* for a patterne: and I verily thinke there is not any States-man will refuse to walke in the manage of affaires on the tracks of *Villeroy*, and derive profit from his experience.

The name of a States-man hath so large an extent, and participateth qualities so eminent, and excellent, that it meeteth with few subjects worthy of it. It onely belongs to him, who hath never blemished his reputation by any act of disloyalty: hath perfect knowledge of Men, of Affairs, and Countries, is knowing in all sorts of occurrences, yet thinks not others ignorant: He presumes not to know all, he goeth not alwaies the same way, nor turnes out of a good one: he shewes nothing in his opinions, which relisheth

relisheth of the impudence of flattery, or the basenesse of servitude: He suffers not his own interest to out-run the publicke: He never resolves on any thing out of passion, through mood, choler, or hastinesse, (four dangerous rocks of prompt and subtle wits.) Finally, there is order in his discourse, judgement in his writings, sincerity in his opinions, constancy and silence in commands, diligence and facility in resolutions.

R O Y A L Science, which is called Reason of State, or politicke Prudence, consisteth in a vigorous strength of wit, and an absolute experience in the manage of publicke affaires: the knowledge of which, is so hard, that life is too short to understand it. Science comprehendeth those things which tend to demonstration and constancy: Prudence

dence is practised in changes, and revolutions: the one walkes in the high way of Law and Reason, the other divides it selfe, and departs from the ordinary course.

For which cause *Henry the Great*, a little before his death (for ever to be lamented) said, that he then began to understand what rule was, nor had he learned it but from experience, which he tearmed his great Book, wherein *No man long reades, who becomes not knowing*. So that as it is impossible to find a Common-wealth, such as *Plato* designed, or an Orator as *Cicero* representeth, or a Captaine according to *Xenophon*, so it is impossible to have a States-man accommodated with all things requisite to counsell a great Prince, or to assist the Government of a powerfull Republick.

France

FRANCE which was never barren in the production of men of this faculty, hath not seen any man who sooner began this profession, nor hath longer exercised it, than *Monsieur Villeroy*, and if in the last Act of Life, the desire of Eternity had permitted him to thinke of the world, I make no doubt but he tasted this comfort, that he left none behinde him, who had served the King, and State longer, with more trust, or in greater occasions, then He. *Who is admired by all, cannot in his profession be compared with any*. A man must rise very high to attaine parts so transcendent.

He hath served five Kings, toyled sixe and fifty yeares, lived threescore and fourteen, saw the end of forraign broyles, the beginning of civill. Hopes and Favours to encreate, Rise and Fall: *The Court-monster, which hath*
two

two hearts, and two tongues, and is so fruitfull in change, so constant in inconstancy, furnished him with examples, which he was able to apply to all sorts of events.

H E came not alone to the Court, nor inconsiderately, to make up a fortune in that place: The wealth his grandfather left him: and the consideration of the services done by him to King *Francis in Italy*, and to his mother the *Queene Regent* in his absence, had already raised him above a vulgar esteeme, besides the liberality of his father, and his marriage at eightene yeares of age to the daughter of *Aubespine*, secretary of the *Commands*; and the most trusty of the *Queene-mothers* servants, gave him assurance, that nothing but time opposed his fortune.

It is a matter very difficult to raise it at Court, how industri-

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ous soever one be, if a powerfull favour, or some notable service lay not the foundations of it. How many brave spirits wither away for that they have not this sunne in their East? They are gemmes, which lose much of their value and lustre by not being handsomely set.

H E likewise derived another maine advantage from his entring into affaires in this his first youth. *It is very hard to thrive at Court in the Evening:* What a deale of time to unclaw so many webs? what watchings to arrive at repose? what affronts to meet with honor? what calumnies to get out of Envy? There are things harsh and uneasy, which patience and custome makes familiar, and supportable, and especially a certaine annihilation of ones owne will. *Who thinks to preserve his own will entire, shall never make great progression*

gression in Court. It is a prison, at the entrance into which, armes must be laid downe, liberty, contentment, repose, and nothing retained but hope and patience. For which cause *Monsieur Villeroy* so often said, *That a man must never despaire at Court, and patience and importunity overcame all.*

QUEEN *Katherine*, who had so much judgement to make choyce of wits, such liberality to oblige them, employed him in affaires, sent him into Spaine, for performance of certaine Articles of peace made in the yeare 1559. and to Rome to Pope *Pius* the fourth, concerning the difference of precedency, which had never been before disputed against the most Christian Crowne. It grieves me, that setting down this, I am more than a hundred leagues distant from the originall of a letter written with

with his owne hand; upon the occasion of his embassage; had I meanes to relate some passages thereof, it should appeare his understanding went on from the first, in a way quite other than ordinary capacities.

The prime piece in the equipage of a States-man, is, a good and solid judgement. Good wits with little labour, small time, and much dexterity, attain their desire: Other, who are dull and heavy, are like barren land, which the more it is cultivated, is the lesse fruitfull, or as ignorant Mariners, who still complaine of the sea or the windes, and strike not into the heaven, but by accident. A Spirit free and prompt, understands himselfe in Counsels, in Dispatches and Affaires, and as he conceiveth matters in a different manner from others, so his words are not vulgar, they still come to the poynt, and by waies which least appeare. He is subtile
in

in arguments, quicke in replies, & easily apprehendeth: His resolutions are perspicuous, and clear: He is not confused in discourse, hath grace in things fained, gravity in matters of truth: He knows how to propose an affaire, to divide it, to pursue, and end it.

IN the beginning he had an eye very open to doe nothing contrary to good opinions. As reputation beginneth, it growes or declineth. Above all, integrity is to be wished, for all vertues are to little use, if that be wanting; It is the bottome of that vessell, which breaking, all that is poured in, runnes thorow. The words of an honest man counterpoise an oath; He speakes to men, as if he spake to God; He calls things by their own names, openly favoureth good men; sweetly adviseth such as erre, hath not an eare, for calumnies, slanders, nor flatteries, and it diffimulation

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(the new court vertue) be to be used, he doth it so soberly, that neither innocency nor verity hath cause to complaine. He desires not to make appear all, what he can to the hurt of any man.

AT his retorne out of *Italy*, the Queen-mother procured him the reversion of *Aube-spine*, his Father in lawes charge, and recommended his fidelity and vigilance to King *Charles* the ninth, who called him his Secretary, trusted him with his most inward thoughts, dictated to him a book of Hunting, and certaine Poems; and among the rest, that, which he addressed to *Ronsard*, wherein he saith,

*Ronsard, thy wit more sprightly
is than mine;
My body yonger, abler much than
thine.*

Ronsards

Ronsards answer began in this manner.

*Such as I am you (Charles) shall
be one day,
Life hopelesse of returne, still flies
aways*

But as nothing is wanting where the grace of God aboundeth, I am of opinion that not any so much furthered his advancement, as the firme and constant zeale he maintained in Catholicke Religion, in times, when the greatest knowing men went out of the way, and novellisme (which hath so powerfull charmes over the French) had corrupted many brave wits both in Schooles and Parliaments. For after the conference of *Poissy*, the Edict of *Iannary* having opened *Temple*, and permitted *Altar*, against *Altar*; and when the principall Cities of the King-

dome

dome were surprized, there was such a tottering, that I have heard him say to *Henry the Great*, and to some elder than himselve, that the Queen-mother to accommodate her selfe to the times, and to comply with the strongest, seemed not to be an enemy of this novellisme, and permitted testimonies of her affection to it in her Cabinet. *Necessity is a violent, and rough Counsellor in affaires.*

This young man continuing stable in the way of Antiquity, and abhorring this change, wherein ancient Discipline, and the Hieratchy, was scoffed at by those, who beleaved the way they pursued was the most assured for safety, and the shortest to make a fortune, as having powerfull protections in Court: but this constancy augmented the first affection which King *Charles* bare him. The good liking of Kings is acquired, or manured by

by such, as apply themselves to the first inclinations of their youth, or to the exercises and humours of their pleasures, or to the encrease of their revenues, or to the extent of their conquests. All other wayes are not sure enough, and when one is arrived thither, the best is, that, of *Loyalty and Modesty*.

AT the age of foure and twenty, He alone executed the charge of *Secretary of State*, and that of the *Exchequer* being vacant, it was united to it. It was not at that time in such splendor, and consideration, as it is now. I have elsewhere made it appeare, that under *Lewis* the eleventh, there was no *Secretary of Commands*, as also that the first man in the Chamber received the command of expedition, which was resolved and decreed between the King and the principal

cipall Lords of the Councell: in such sort, that many great actions were seen to be both subscribed, and signed by sundry Secretaries. But ever there was with the Prince some trusty man, who undertooke the care of the most secret resolutions, and the dispatch of the most important. Such was *Balance* under *Lewis* the eleventh, *Brissonet* under *Charles* the eighth, the Cardinall of *Amboise*, and *Robertet* under *Lewis* the twelfth.

THE Chancellor *Hospital*, and *Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, Keeper of the Seale, and *Anbe-spine*, Bishop of *Limousin*, three great men of this Age. who had the chiefe care of the Kings affaires, imparted their experiences to him, and enabled him, *To admire little, and to know much*. Diamonds are weighed against Diamonds, and wits are refined by wits in affaires, which presse forward,

forward; and transport the most heavy, and stupid natures, as Torrents carry along, and unloose the weightiest stones. And as to become eloquent, the imitation of the most exact Pieces of auncient *Orators* should be proposed: so, to prepare a brave Spirit for *State-affaires*, the shortest way, is, the example of those, who have long practised them. *More, men profit by example, and labour, than by precepts and discourse.* But as great occasions doe not perpetually happen to exercise the understanding, nor great capacities are still found to handle great affaires; It is an infinite happinesse for such as have easie access, and familiar conversation with those able men, who being raised upon the highest Spheares of government, see, before other the storm, and calme, at distance, judge of events, and know the source and sequele of affaires: for as one is parched in the Sunne, and persua-

med

med in odours, without much ado, so such frame their judgement upon all sorts of resolutions.

HE began his endeavours upon great workes; at which time his Spirit, not poorly groveling upon inferiour things, raised it selfe by strength of wing to the highest, as to its Center. *It is fit a States-man know the quality of his owne spirit, and extent of it.* There are some, who the more they are advanced, the lesse appear; and other, who will not admit so much light as to make themselves to be well seene: for charges and businesses discover men. *Some would be thought worthy of a place, if they had it not.*

The comparison of the diversity of Spirits, to that of statues, is not amisse. The *Athenians* employed two excellent Sculptors, (*Phidias* and *Alcmenes*) to make the head of *Minerva*, and beholding

ding them both together, after they were finished, they scoffed at that which *Phidias* pourtrayed, it being but roughly designed, and admired the other, which with unspeakeable cunning, laid together all the most delicate and gentle touches.

But when they were raised upon two high Columnes, that, of *Phidias*, lessening by distance to its due proportion, appeared to be exactly wrought, and *Alcmenes* his Piece, without forme, the height so taking away the beauty, that it seemed no other than a Bowle ill rounded.

There likewise are Spirits, which appeare according as they are more or lesse exalted; some having not vigour enough, unlesse they be perpetually in the supremest region of affaires, other goe not so high, and their ability mounteth but to a certaine degree, past which they are not knowne, and much adoe they have

have to know themselves. *The head turnes, and the eyes dazle in high places.*

There were no slight affaires handled by the Kings Councill in those times, and all dispatches were most important, and all Counsels tended to battailes, and victories. I have heard him say, that hee was present at the making of the Edict of Pacification, in the first troubles in the yeare 1563. The difference of religion, which had divided the *French* in Gods service, divided them likewise in their service to the King.

Hereupon were two great factions raised, of which religion was the pretext, and government the cause. The Councill of *Trent* held all the world in Sentinell. The passage of the Duke of *Alva* into *Flanders*, gave occasion of feare to the one, and of courage to the other. After *Queene-mother* had yeilded up the power

of Regency to the King, she let him see the Provinces of his Kingdome. The interview of this Prince with the Queene of *Spaine* at *Bayon*, and the secret counsels held betweene Queene-mother, and the Duke of *Alva*, occasioned great designs. The King being at *Meaux*, saw the forces of the Prince of *Conde* so neare, that hee was advised to steale to *Paris* by night, under the conduct of the *Switzers*. There was a conference at *Saint Denis* betweene the Kings Deputies, the Chauncellor *Hospital*, the Bishop of *Orleans*, *Limousin*, *Saint Sulpitius*, with *Monsieur* the Prince of *Condé*, where *Villeroy* also was. It was wayted on by the battaile, wherein the *Constable* dyed; *Monsieur* the Duke of *Anjou* was declared chiefe, and *Lieutenant* of the Army, *Ambe-spine* dyed the next day, and *Villeroy* alone entred into charge, and the times furnished him

him with more busynesse, than was lett him.

CHARLES the ninth sent him to the Emperour *Maximilian*, upon the treaty of his marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*. This third voyage much holpe to dispose and fortifie his judgement; so fit it is that such as desire to be employed in great affaires, should see forraigne Countreyes, especially neighbours, which may become enemies. But if the curiosity of seeing, be not accompanied with the affection of judging, and remembering what is seene, all the profit is lost, and vapours away in meere vanity.

It is not enough to admire rarities abroad, or to be delighted with things pleasing, it importeth to consider; how they are governed in peace, and warre, how the Prince is served, in what his forces consist, what he

wanteth, how his fortresses are built, how provided with munition, and defended, how he entertaines his men of armes, which way he may be assayed, or surprized; *Whether hee have more mood to heat his Oven, than Corns to send to the Mill.*

Young men easily observe the vices of Nations, and sow the seeds of quarrels, when they upbrayd such with them who passionately strive to maintaine the honour of those Nations, and who believe their owne is still exempted from ordinarie vices.

Ignorance of affaires both forraign and domestique, is no lesse shamefull in a States-man, than in a Physitian, who nothing fears the temperature of mans body. An ignorance which many times leades Princes along into lost designs, with such blindness, that they often make war against those, of whom they should

should aske peace.

THE King foreseeing the course of his owne life would not be long, recommended him to his brother, when he was going into Poland. He dyed at Bevis S. Vincent, and the affection he bare him, reduced him into his memory at that time, when hee had none at all for wordly matters. If this Prince made use of violent counsels, Villeroy gave them not, for he many times told him, that the Prince who had more care to make himselfe to be feared than beloved, was sure in the end to be more hated than feared. *Fear is an ill Schoole of duty.* This cruell, and abhominable word (Let them hate, so they feare) is not Christian like; the very Romans knew it not but in the time of Sylla.

VILLEROYS service was presently so necessary, that after the death of his first

*Popes Priv. 26
Salut 646*

Master, he was no lesse favoured by the second. Discovering the blacke clowd, which brake into a prodigie of revolt and sedition, he gave the King this just counsell, to reunite the Royall stocke in one and the same beliese, and designe, and not to divide *Catholicks*, that they might not acknowledge any other Prince for head but the lawfull.

He employed him to get two men to come into the Court, who were most deare unto him, the Duke of *Atracan*, and the King of *Nazure*. *Ambition*, which more considereth the scope of desire, than duty, had taken from him the affection of the one, and novell opinions, contrary to ancient beliefs, had debauched the conscience of the other. He sent Queen-mother to them, and would have her to be assisted by *Villeroy* in this negotiation. *It is a great happinesse for a servant, when he is employed to* make

make an accord between the children of the family.

HE was the first who had notice of the purpose of creating a new order of *Knighthood*. Perhaps he might have done better to have restored, that, of St. *Michael* into grace, as the Empe-
rour *Maximilian* hath been praised, to have raised, that, of the *Golden fleece*. This Prince having other thoughts, instituted that, of the *Holy Ghost*, and beleaved *Villeroy*, who told him, that communicating it to few, it thereby should be the more illustrious. *A Prince ought to be very retentive in conferring titles of honour, which are the true rewards of merit.* There was no reason to deny *Themistocles* the Crowne, who vanquished the *Persians* in the battell of *Salamina*, and give it to *Demosthenes*, who fled out of the field.

IT is well knowne, how passions swayed and overflowed against this Prince, and how many writings insolently free, were published against him; he caused the authors to be punished, but it was contrary to *Villeroy's* advice, who had learned from the wile, that *Paper* suffers all, and that, the more *Satyr*s and *Pasquils* are forbidden, the more they are sought after.

It is not the duty of a Statesman to wound the minde of his Prince with all manner of bruits, nor to inflame his anger against those, who invent or spread them to the prejudice of his reputation. There is no kinde of offence ought more to be dissembled, than that of *Tongues*, *Pens*, and *Impressions*.

Generous souls account themselves sufficiently revenged by letting it appeare they can be revenged. *Alexander* mocked at them,

them, *Augustus* recompenced them, *Tiberius* dissembled them, *Titus* scorned them. *It onely is for great Kings to doe well, and heare evill.* Three good Emperours, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, father and sonnes, have on this left so divine a law, that it seemeth to have been dictated by heaven. See it in *French*, as it is in *Latine*, in the seventh Title of the ninth Code. If any one through want of modesty, and excess of impudence, beleeveth he is permitted to invade our reputation, by maligne and insolent slanders, and (drunke) with passion, becomes a detractor of our government, we will that he for it be not liable to any punishment, nor suffer any thing rough or vigorous: For if it proceed from levity, he is to be pardoned; if from fury, he is to be pitied; If from injury, it is to be forgiven: and therefore we will, that the entire knowledge thereof be preserved, to the end, that considering

considering the quality of words by the persons, we may advise whether we should pursue or dissemble them.

COMPLACENCE

is to familiar with Princes, that one had need to have a soule very religious, not to love better to please with Truth, than to be acceptable by flattery. There is nothing in Kings Palaces so rare as simple truth. An Archbishop of France said one day to Queens-mother, during the assembly of the generall States of Paris, That it was now fifty yeares that truth had not gone through the doore of her Cabinet. And another Bishop preaching in the Louvre last yeare, said to the King, That it entred not into Kings houses, but by stealth, and through the windows. The Prince is much bound to a faithfull servant, who tells it him with confidence and discretion, and to be well served it

is fit he ordaine honours, and rewards tyed to the Truths told him, in doubtfull and important cases, the concealing whereof would be prejudiciall.

Queen Katharine loved a certain Lord of her owne Nation, Villeroy perceiving the Princes, and prime men of the Kingdome did complaine of it, and that such complaints are ever the seeds of partialities, had the boldnesse to beseech her to moderate this affection, which she did; and he whom she affected, used such modesty and good discretion therein, That his fortune was never subject to ill adventures, which always meet with those, who abuse favour.

King Henry the third after his returne out of Poland, was quickly weary of military exercises, suffering this his warlike humour to dissolve in the delights and vanities, which peace bringeth. He instituted divers companies of

seculars,

seculars, who lived, not alwaies, but for certaine houres, regularly. His principall retreat was at *Bois S. Vincent*, whither he drew the Nobility and for that affaires followed him every where, he would that, *Villeroy* who had the care of those, which could hardly be put over to the next day, should take the habit as other, and should have a peculiar place, as it were a parlour, to receive packets, and heare Courriers. But perceiving expeditions were retarded, he said to him as truly, as generously, *(Sir) Duties and obligations are considered according to time, and that is the cause why old debts should be paid before new: you have beene King of France before you were head of this Company, your conscience obligeth you to render to regality, what you owe it, before you grant to the congregation, what you have promised it. You may dispense with your selfe in the one, not in the other:*

other; you weare not Sackcloth, but when you list, but you have the Crowne on your head perpetually; and no lesse weighty is it in this retirement, than in affaires. This is to speake.

A Prince cannot give too much time to piety, *but hee must sometime leave God for God*, who permits himselfe to bee found in affaires, and contents himselfe with a good intention. Let heaven bee of brasse for *France*; while piety lives in the heart of its Kings, it shall need no other raine; no more than *Egypt*, which cares not since it hath the water of *Nilus* that fattens and refresheth it.

But they ought to desire it may be most pure, without art or inforcement, walking with head erected, without laying it on this or that side. It avoydeth these two extreames, *Impiety & Superstition*. Many Princes by the one have braved God, and have

have thought ill of him by the other. *Impiety* blindeth the soule, *Superstition* maketh it dull sighted. *Piety* loves God, *impiety* condemnes him, as if he were a man: *Superstition* feares him, as if he were not a God.

SEEING this Prince loved solitude, and made his ordinary abode at *Paris*, hee gave him counsell to send some principall Lords of his Councell throughout the Provinces, that his Majestie might there be seen by the effects of his justice, since they were deprived of the contentment of his presence; imitating the Sun, who stirring not out of Heaven sendeth his rayes thoroughout the world. If they be good men, and of quality, they every where advance the service of the Prince, their words are as so many flaming arrowes, which with their heat melt the Ice contracted in distant places.

A Prince cannot better preserve the good will of his people, than by employing men, who only effect a generall good. Of all the precepts which the Emperour *Charles* left to his son *Philip* the second, this is observed to be the best. That not being able to be in so many remote and distant places, he should handle the matter so, as daily he might be seen by his authority and justice, disposing them in the hands of persons of great innocency and verine, that his subjects might not have occasion to bee sorry for his absence.

THE King who to be revenged, purposed tragically to end the Assembly of the States of *Blen*, sent him a Ticket of retreat, for no other reason but for feare, lest he and *Believent* might divert him from his precipice; and lest much depending on the Queens mothers dispose, they might

might give her some notice of it. For greatly he feared the spirit of this mother, who had a great power over his, besides, he saw not clearly into her practises. *The Spirit of man is very hard to be known, but that of a Woman never.* Hee thought the bloud of these two Princes would quench the fire they had enkindled, but he more redoubled the flame. For a while after, there was almost a generall revolt. The *Saturniall* feasts were renewed, wherein servants became Masters, and Gallies slaves no sooner left the Oare at the signall given by the Capitaine, but that that the most obliged fell off from their duty. He then offered the King the continuation of his service, which his principall servants forooke; but he, not understanding the weaknesse of his owne Counsels, imagined, he might slip over a man so necessary, and confident.

A Prince diggeth out his own
eyes,

eyes, when he inconsiderately riddes himselfe of a servant, who knoweth his affaires. Almost all *Poland* had conceived an implacable hatred against *Gavaric* the Kings most faithfull Counsellor, *Lescus*, and *Blanc* threatening him to choole another King, if he banished him not. *Gavaric* was content, and besought the King to throw him into the sea, since hee was the cause of the Tempest, protesting that he not only would willingly lose his Countrey, but his life also for the safety of his Prince, & the Peace of his Countrey. *Lescus* declared, *he had rather retire, and live as a private person, than stay in a Kingdome under so unjust, and unreasonable a condition.*

VILLEROY then, hoping neither for safety, nor protection, that way, cast himselfe on the side wherein his Father, his Sonne, his Wife, his Family

mily, and his goods were. Hee much desired to expect in one of his houses till those stormes might fall, but being unable to abide there, but at the discretion of the violence of the times, he was constrained to forsake the way of Iustice for the way of Prudence. *In intestine broyles, the worst side is to bee of none: In particular quarrels it is a point of wisdom to stand neuter.* Who only respecteth the place, goeth off when he will; who is of a faction is not so admitted, that hee can leave it, without ruining it.

And yet notwithstanding he was in such account with both, that although discretion and equity appeared not in these confusions, but by the light of *Harguennes*, all, which belonged to him was regarded, his family felt not the miseries of the siege of *Paris*, his friends caused him to keepe victuals secretly, and some times

times in drummes, his house as *Conflans* was preserved by a Lord who honoured the Father, and had beene bred with the Sonne. At the taking of *Pontoise*, a great man of this kingdom had the care to cause all the moveables of his house of *Halin-court* to be brought into a strong City of his government, and when the peace was concluded, he sent them backe to him in Carts, as it were by Inventory, there being not perceived the loss of any the least parcell. It was an admirable providence of God to see, that against all likelihood, it should be restored him, and that his charge of Secretary of State, should likewise be rendered him.

How rigorous usage soever he received from his King, his affection towards his memory was no whit exasperated. *Henry the Great* told mee one day the strange resolution this Prince had had

had against the Duke of *Alencon* his brother, and commanded me not to forget it in his history saying: *It was necessary to observe the faults of Princes, to the end that such as come after them may not wander in that way, wherein they lost themselves.* I framed a discourse upon it, and shewed it to *Monsieur Villeroy*, to submit it to his judgement. He assured mee hee had never heard of it. The King hearing this answer, said: *You ought to beleve me, because I speake the truth, and you cannot but praise Monsieur Villeroy, who would not speake it to prejudice the honour of his Master.* To this may be referred his answer made to *Tinteville*, saying unto him, that none but hee was able to write the history of that time, *I am (saith he) too much bound to the memory of Henry the third to undertake it.*

After the dreadfull, and tragicall

call death of this Prince, and on the next day after, he sent to one of the most trusty servants of his successor, an expresse messenger, who represented unto him, that the harshnesse of warre would be the destruction of the state, & dissembled not with the Duke de *Maine*, that it would ruine Religion, and advance their faction, who went about to reforme it.

This desire of peace rendred him odious to such as sought to profit by war; the Spaniards decried his good intentions; bad French called him the *Politician*, and although the Cities in this desperate liberty felt many miseries by warre, and created many more by their partialities, yet the name of *Peace* was so odious amongst them, that quiet spirits were accounted turbulent innovators.

It was through the constancy of his judgement, and of one other

ther of much courage, and great understanding, that the Duke de *Mayne* found it to be the best, and most adventurous counsell which was ever give to a Prince, to cause foure of sixteen to be taken, who through a furious act of injustice, had dishonoured this royall Parliament. By the like advice he drave away a petty tyrant from the *Bastile*, which he had made the store-house of his thefts, and lastly, gave the government to a noble spirit, whose constancy and unshaken fidelity *Henry the Great* applauded, for he esteemed an honest man, on what side soever he were.

A S it is not hard to guide a ship which sayles before the winde, so it is not difficult to give counsell where there is neither maine impediment, nor perill, but rough stormes try good Pilots, and great affaires strong judge-

judgements. Such appeared, that, of *Villeroy* in this over-whelming tempest, where it was dangerous both to give counsell, and to refuse.

He freely told the Duke de *Maine*, that there was but one of these three wayes to pacifie the kingdome, either to accord with the King, or to reunite all the Catholickes under one head against him, or to submit themselves to the protection of the Spaniard. The third being perilous, as contrary to the lawes of the kingdome, and the humours of the French: and the second very difficult (the Princes of the bloud being straightly united for the interest of their houses) he advised the first under this condition, that the King should re-enter into the Catholicke Church, and that he who had the keyes of it, would open the doore. That his Majestic should be sought unto therein by a notable and celebrated

ous embassage : and publikely, to justifie their Armes in case hee would not hearken to this just meanes of peace. The times have made it appeare, how many milieries have been avoyded by following this counsell. Those rivers of bloud drawn from all the veynes of the body of *France*, would have served to ciment together great Bulwarkes, to defend it against its enemies. It were to write a history to represent what was done in that time, it sufficeth to tell you that the fruit of his negotiation was the conference of *Surenne*, which advanced the Kings conversion, after the truce, which was waited on by peace, as by the daughter on the mother. The people having tasted the sweetnesse of repose, would have no more troubles, the faction of the Duke de *Maine* found it selfe weake, and succour failing, every one provided for himselfe.

After

AFTER the conversion of the King, he entred into the Kings service, and as *Aeneas* going from the sack of *Troy*, carried along with him his Father, his Sonne, and an important place, which served for the reduction of the rest. The wisest condemned the obstinate, which shut up their eyes against this growing light, and required more ceremony to returne to their duty, than they had used in their separation.

The King gave him his charge of *Principall Secretary of State*, and from the very day he entred into it, he perceived, order returned to affaires, to the great comfort of his heart. He spard not to say, *I have dispatched more businesse to day with Monsieur Villeroy, than I did with other in sixe moneths.* He never spake to him upon any occasion, how strange or unexpected soe-

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ver it were, that he delivered not his opinion, grounded either upon reason, or example. He wondered that such a head knew so much, without acquiring in youth ought which is learned by study, or which is gained by bookes; most certaine it is, that had this so vigorous and sprightly a judgement been cultivated by Art and Science, he would have arrived to much more perfection, & say what we can, Theory walkes more solidly than practise, and bookes shew in a little time what experience teacheth not, but with the expence of many yeares.

HE never negotiated with any man, that he was not too hard for him. There have beene forraign Embassadors, who were held in their own country to be Intelligences and spirits in the discovery and discussion of affaires, who talking with him, found

found their subtilties were but like beards or eares of corne, encountering with the solidity of such a judgement: their discourse but capriches, their skill but formalities.

They who mannage affaires, doe all of them propose one same marke, but they goe to it by different wayes, and some sooner than other. The *Italians* by profound discourse penetrate farre into the future: The *Spaniards* derive their best resolutions from passed examples: the *French* stick upon the present: but *Prudence* regardeth all three times, and ever grounds its reasons upon the necessity of the present, the profit or losse of the passed, and the foresight of the future. They who were but his halfe friends, affirm his parts were not ordinary; a great integrity free from avarice, a great modesty, an exquisite ingenuity, an incredible vigilancy, opposite to profusion, innovati-

on and disorder. He read all was presented to him, he put not businesses over to the next day, He cleared the Table every day, and dayes and nights are not more equall under the Equinoctiall, than were his words and actions. He carried in the most embroyled confusions, the same countenance which he shewed in the greatest contentments of the Court. Bruit affrighted not him, who bent not his apprehension, but to just and apparant feares. *To feare all, is cowardise; to feare nothing is stupidity;* with the same hand with which he presented the evill, he gave the remedy. The King considering, that, his goodnesse and dexterity, often said, *I must needs say, Monsieur Villeroy is a good and gracious servant.*

He gave audience without trouble, confusion, or impatience: the gravity which one met with in the beginning, was
sweet.

sweetned by a great affability, a matter necessary for a Statesman: for the stoutest spirits are paid, and satisfied with good words, which never excoriate the tongue, and are repulled by harshnesse; They who are slowre, and austere, who heare not with attention, and patience, nor answer but in anger, destroy the Princes service, who is bound, either in his own person to hear, and see, or by his ministers, who are his eyes, and eares. *Doe you thinke (said Rodolphus, founder of the famous house of Austria) that I am chosen Emperour to be perpetually shut up in a Box?*

HE used great advisednesse, not to precipitate his counsels; Henry the Great proposed a very urgent businesse to him, and seeing his coldnesse, asked him why he spake not: Because (saith he) I thought it a matter of command, not of speech. He desired to have

his advice in an occasion which concerned a Prince of the blood, he answered, when Kings deliberate upon any thing, which toucheth their allies, they must onely consult with nature. *A States-man ought to know upon what, and how he must give, or refuse to give counsell.* In some matters it is cowardize to be silent, in other it is temerity to speake, but in no hand it is permitted to give counsell, before it be asked. He gave the King that good counsell, which greatly served to establish peace, and destroy the pretexts of warre, causing *Monsieur* the Prince, who was at *S. Iohn d' Angely*, to come to the Court, and to be bred in Catholick religion, that it might plainly appeare in the lawfull succession, for this uncertainty occasioned feare in mindes, and entertained partiality in the provinces.

Kings

KINGS are alwayes Kings; but in civill divisions as they are not acknowledged by one side, so they are not well obeyed by the other. This Prince during the warre, had beene often constraind to play the *Carabin*, to overcome in his Cabinet by sweetnesse, before hee fought in the field by valour; Here, to be a fellow in arms, and there a Souldier. The actions of his Majestie were obscured, as the statue of *Minerva* was veiled during the solemnity of *Plythesies*; or, as all stood sad at *Rome* whilst the *Salii* (those mad Priests of *Mars*) bare the *Ancylis* through the streets.

The King well perceived the prejudice which ensued thereon: for as great severity exasperateth affections, so too much facility vilifieth authority. *Villeroy* told him, that a Prince who was not jealous of respects due to Majestie, permitted both the

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offence, and the contempt: That Kings his predecessors in the greatest confusions, had alwaies carried themselves like Kings: That it was time hee should speake, write, and command like a King: That it was not alwaies done, there had before beene too much regard of words, too much advisednesse in dispatches, too much consideration in commands. He had often entreated thole hee should command, recompenced those who deserved punishment, and appeased such as had angered him.

When he was peacefull, they who had lived in indifferency, had much a doe to returne to distinctions, and order. Insolent presumption, and proud arrogancy (the ordinarie Symptomes of indocible, and inconstant spirits) could not arraigne themselves under the lawes of modesty, and duty.

From that time the King became

came a King in good earnest, he put the most refractory under discipline, & many found themselves under those they sought to precede. Majesty, which so freely had suffered itself to be approached unto, and to be importuned, became so tender, that how little soever it was touched, it shewed it selfe to bee wounded. For which cause the King said, *Villeroy* had taught him to play the King, and had shewed him more in six moneths, than hee had knowne thereof in six yeares. He some time after being asked, if he would keepe the festivall of the three Kings in the beginning of the yeare. he remembered himselfe what *Villeroy* had said unto him, and added; wee have but too much played the Kings. *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Asia*, for having contemned Majesty, and not knowing how to bee a King, was surnamed the *Madman*.

He could not learne this lesson from a better master; for precepts to make a King, are not acquired but from rule, and many must be observed to know what the Offices thereof are. Those of private persons are daily practiced, royall grow not, nor appeare not, but in great occasions.

As *Adaldagne* having beene *Secretary of State* fifty yeares to three *Orhoes*, Emperours, and *Gasper Schlick* to *Sigismund*, *Albertus*, and *Fredericke* the third, were reputed skillfull of all the obligations of Emperours: to *Villeroy*, who had already scene the court under the reign of *Francis* the second, and had entered into employments under the reign of *Charles* the ninth, and had managed the most important affaires under *Henry* the third, and was not ignorant of any of the greatest under *Henry* the fourth, could alone give this instruction.

Who

Who teacheth what is to be done, cannot be ignorant how it is to be done, which is the cause there is no great difference between those who rule, and such as shew how to rule. They have but one marke to aime at, which is the safety of the state, both the one and the other are ordained to serve the Common-wealth; and for this it is, why a *Roman* Emperour said, that to reigne was to serve, comprizing this servitude in three words, *To serve the Senate*, by submitting to Counsels; *To serve all*, by looking after the common good; *To serve particulars*, by yeelding right to all, and defending them from injury.

SO that he who can well serve the Prince, can well serve the State, who can play the States-man can play the Prince. It is one same thing to appoint or counsell, that, which must be appointed.

appointed. *All, which serves to rule well, serves to counsell him well whoruleth.*

In treaties with strangers he hath ever shewed the generosity of his spirit. Did he not say to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who made the first overture of the peace between the two Kings, (pursued, and concluded so gloriously by the Chancellors, Belieure, and Sillery) that Spaine could not hope for it, without restitution? And to speak to Princes of restitution, is it not to encrease variance? What got Roncas from him, when he proposed the Duke of Savoy's desire to come into France, but that he should not be welcome, if he had an intencion to with-hold, what he ought to restore? After the treaty of Paris, he said: We still expect when this Prince will be delivered of a good word. And thereupon his Embassadors saying, the King of Spaine would pass:

pass into Italy to defend the inheritance of his Nephewes, he replied; *That is it we desire, for if we must breake, the cause is just, and the agreement will be the better made, and the more perfect.*

This praise-worthy passion of the greatnesse of this Crowne, made him one of the most unwilling for the exchange of the Marquitate of Saluce, for la Bresse; he not enduring to counsell the King to lessen his frontier. He considered that Henry the third had often repented him to have rendred the Cities of Pignarol, Savilliana, and Perouse to the Duke of Savoy, which were the keyes of Dauphine and Piemont, and that the Duke of Nevers, not seeming to consent to an act so contrary to the greatnesse of this Crowne, had demanded to be discharged from the government of Provinces beyond the mountaines. This brave Prince, then, foresaw, and foretold, that

so soone as this gate were shut up against the *French*, that, of the *Grisons* would not long continue open.

When a Prince hath any thing from another by the right of *Armes*, or other title, how slightly soever it be coloured, he is not well counselled, to render it againe. It is a *Maxime* among all Princes, and there is none so tender of conscience, who wil mortally wound his owne state, to accommodate his neighbour.

A Prince, potent, warlike, and peaceable, thinks on nothing but the enlargement of his frontiers, and sees no limits of it, but at the poynt of his sword. It is said *Lewis* the eleventh made this answer to those who spake of the weakenesse of the frontiers of *Picardy* against the *English*: *Trouble not your selves, my frontier is much farther.* As much as to say, that to keep the *English* in peace, he would make warre
upon

upon them in *Scotland*.

As he shewed the constancy of his courage to strangers, so he made the like generosity to appear in reducing the Kings subjects to their duty. He hath shewed the greatest of this kingdome, that their greatness onely rested in humbling themselves to the Kings will: That there was no safety for them, but in their loyalty: That the quality of Prime-prince dispensed not with them from being the prime servant to the King.

When the King undertooke the voyage of *Sedan*, the Lord of that place more confiding in the Kings goodnesse, and the consideration of his services, than in the defence of his fortresse, desired to speake with *Monsieur Villeroy*, who went to finde him out at *Torcy*. The King during their conference, uttered these words, I have sent him a rough Greyhound. He flattered him not,
when

when he said, his unhappinesse and ruine were in resistance; his safety, and hope in humility and obedience. He yeelded up the Fort, and it was a notable piece of judgement in *Monsieur Villeroy*. For particular interest made it selfe generall in the passion of those who said, they apprehended no other perill for this Lord, but that he had enemies neare unto the King, who would counsell him to make the Altars of *Rome* to smoke with his blood in hatred of his religion.

AT all times *Villeroy* preferred the Kings service before all other thoughts, neglecting his owne affaires for those of the state, and hence ensued that infinite prooffe of his integrity, in that he very little augmented the estate, which his ancestors left him.

His long services, his incessant industry,

industry, the affection of five Kings, might have filled his house with so great riches, as to make them comparable to the wealth of that *Roman* Citizen, who saw rivers to rise and glide along in his own lands. His father was governour of *Pontoyse*, *Meulan*, and *Mantes*: *Henry* the third had given to his sonne the Lieutenantcy in the government of *Lyons*. *Henry the Great* gave it him after the death of *Monsieur la Guiche* (the flowre of noble, free, and generous soules) he afterward had the government in chiefe, which *Monsieur de Vendosme* held. And all this compared to the toyls of such a servant, shews, that in the houses of Kings, gratitude is not alwayes equivalent to great services.

Whereupon *Henry the Great* said, *Princes have servants of all prices and fashions. Some do their own businesse before their masters: Some doe their masters, and forget*
not

not their owne; but Villeroy thought his masters was his, and used the same eagerneffe which another would have done in solliciting his owne cause, or labouring in his owne vineyard.

There is neither greatnesse, nor encrease of a state to be hoped for, where it is governed by men more carefull of their owne particular, than the publicke. So likewise it is fit the Prince doe his affaires, who serveth him, that he may have his spirit free, which cannot be, he having that (monster *Poverty*) in his minde. *Philip* the second King of *Spaine*, said to *Ruy Gomes*, his faithfull servant, *Dispatch my affaires, and I will dispatch thine*. When after his death many spake of the great riches he left, he said, *I thought I had done much better for him*.

Never was any man more earnest for the honour of a state, than *Villeroy*. The chiefe poynt of his instructions to Embassadors, who

went to serve the King out of the kingdomes, was, religiously to preserve the honour of majesty, to speake nothing imprudently, nor wickedly give care to any thing against it; and he alwaies made the King in his dispatches, to speake as a Prince, great, and awfull, in elegant termes, but such as were most proper for Kings. In his particular letters there was ever something gentile, & which shewed him to be a man well borne, and long bred in the Cabinet of Kings.

H O V V great soever his credit was he abused not the good opinion of his master, nor tyred him with troublesome suits. So likewise when he spake for any one, his recommendation alone was an undoubted proofe of merit. As he was not of an humour to doe good to many, so he would not hurt any, nor oppose the Princes liberality to divert it:

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*To doe no good to any, is Avarice;
to hinder another therein, is Cru-
elty.*

MANY brave spirits would have been unknown, if he had not made them to be knowne, and acknowledged. He raised some of them to the Principall honours of the Church, and amongst many, I will make choyce but of two for an example, because they were of the same promotion, and arrived unto it by two severall wayes, the one by the merit of learning, the other by judgement in affaires.

Villeroy, who was advertised of all, and recommending the first to *Henry the Great*, told him, his great learning had been so admired at *Rome* in the first voyage he made after, that, of the Duke of *Nevers*, that would he have stayed, the Pope gave him hope of great fortunes, and honour.

honour. He needed to say no more, to resolve the King, who had notice of this truth in his owne conversion, and in the conference of *Fontainebleau*.

The other was in such esteeme at *Rome*, that had it not been for his opinion concerning originall sinne, he had been chosen Pope. He told his friends he was bound to *Villeroy* for the *Cardinals cap*, who not so much considered his merit, as his owne desire to doe the King good service, to the end that such as should have the like intention, might be assured of the same reward. Three great ornaments of *France*, who have had the *Seales* of the Kingdome (the *Seales*, the sacred marke of the *Kings Justice*) have not concealed that *Vsilleroy's* recommendation had holpen their merit.

HE commended not this vehement passion of searching into, or correcting things past. He

He held his peace in the beginning of the pursuit against *Financiers*, but after the first heat was cooled, he dextrously tooke his time to overthrow it, and told the King, he had ever observed more trouble than fruit in such enquiries, which being too general, often times involved the innocent with the guilty, and disturbed the peace of Families. This was not, that he desired not to see abuses corrected, and Sponges squeezed; but there are remedies which make the malady worse.

He desired the people should have meanes to breathe, and our Kings to be so rich, and potent, that all extraordinary wayes to get money, might be abolished. Our revolts and seditions have multiplied the misery within, and drawn on fury abroad; have caused warres, which cannot be undertaken without money, nor ended but by peace; and peace not
being

being to be had but by *Armes*, *Armes* are not maintained but by money, and money cannot be got but by tributes.

In these great extremities our Kings have beene constrained to have recourse to violent remedies, to mow the meadow as often as they list. Charges are augmented, and redoubled by the increase of evils, in such sort, that *Philip*, surnamed the *Long*, law himselfe reduced into so violent, and pressing necessities, that to come out of them, he demanded the fifth part of the revenue, and labours of his subjects, without any imagination of the times, or distinction of persons.

The true opinion of his integrity, had acquired so great a reputation, that not onely his words were weighed, but great heed also was taken of his silence.

They who flatter Princes, and hold their vices to be imperfect
vertues,

vertues, approved by their discourse, a designe, which *Villeroy* dissuaded by his silence. This Prince comming to himself, said, that *Villeroy* saying nothing, spake much to him. Behold what power the sole countenance of an honest man hath!

HE never did any important thing but by his advice, from whom he derived the knowledge, both of what he should doe, as also what might happen, when it were done. How often hath he been heard to say, *Villeroy* said it; all is done as *Villeroy* foresaw it. Newes was brought to him, that the Duke of Savoy had caused *Poncas* to be arrested. Sir (said *Villeroy*) *D'albigny* will receive the counter-blow. The prediction was true, and deciphered the strength of a great judgement.

He so clearly looked into the future, that it is above fittene
yeares

yeares agoe since he said that the greatest would one day account it an honour to be present at the raising of a man, who is joined for that he had not a friend to whisper him in his ear, what ~~pericles~~ *pericles* daily said to himselfe, Take heed *Pericles*, thou commandest free men, thou hast to do with Athenians.

A true friend had spoken that to him, which *Villeroy* said to a Prince: That he had observed oftentimes at Court, that fortunes which come leasurely, are the latest ruined. But false amities entertaine men onely with fables, and blasts of winde, which fill empty imaginations. Strong and generous soules suffer not themselves to be deceived by vanity. They are Lyons, which for a time endure to be led whither one will, whilst their eyes are covered; but when they have liberty to understand themselves, they become untractable. The same

Lyons suffer themselves to be dressed up with flowres to enter into the Games; but if their shadow, or the water shew them that this dresse is not consonant to their generosity, they tear it in pieces. It is onely fit for dull and stupid oxen, who are led along to sacrifices.

HIS Cabinet hath beene as an universall map: there was to be seen the ground-plot of the greatest enterprizes of Christendome, there was scarcely a Monarchy or Republick in the world which had not somewhat to do there. It was the Academy where the Princes of the bloud, and other Peers became capable of those things, the ignorance whereof is not excusable. Recourse was made thither as to a certaine Register to determine disputes of ranks, to order the ceremonies of the most solemne actions of Majesty.

No

No man entred into it, who went not out more knowing; men of action there learnt maxims of state, Embassadors there took their instructions, Generals of Armies there received direction of designs, and Governours of Provinces their power.

So well his counsels served to the preservation, and continuance of peace, that it is to be feared, lest we have occasion to say, as Pope *Sixtus* the fourth did, That the peace of *Italy* died with *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*. In this Cabinet *Henry the Great* hath renewed his alliances with his neighbours, hath quenched the civill warre of *Italy*, hath established the repose of the *Hollander*, hath succoured his allies in *Germany*, hath weighed so many sundry propositions for the glory of this Crowne, and revenge of injuries.

In this Cabinet it was, where the holy marriage, everlastingly

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happy,

happy, was proposed, which afforded *Henry the Great*, sonnes to be the assured pillars of this Crowne, the love and ornament of strangers. Heaven had ordained, that our *Hercules*, after so many labours, should repose in the chaste bosome of *Princesse Mary*, daughter of *Francis*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and *Joane* of *Austria*, daughter of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, honoured with two the most supreme titles, which may adorne a generous soule, being wife to *Henry the Great*, and mother of *Lewis the just*. It onely belonged to her, that her head already crowned with immortall Laurels of vertue, should be so likewise with the prime crowne of the world; but God, who at the same time had delivered her from a great malady, hath reserved her to be the eldest Queene of Christendome.

Villeroy

VILLEROY was one of the three, whom *Henry the Great* recommended with so much affection to this great Princeesse, & who contrary to all discourse, and humane appearance, have maintained order in affaires, and quiet in the kingdome during her regency. Whilst she authorized their Counsell, and cherished their good intention, *Tranquility*, *Plenty*, and *Obedience*, three marks of the felicity of Empires, made this kingdome to flourish. *Constantine the great*, wondring that *Alexander Severus* had so happily reigned, comming to the Empire young, and an alien (for he was a *Syrian*) it was answered him, that *Mamma* his mother was directed and counselled by personages of great experience, and integrity, *Vlpianus*, *Iulius Paulus*, *Fabius Sabinus*, *Pomponius*. It was upon the assistance of men of this quality, and on the

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wise-

wisedome of such, that *Plotina*, wife of *Trajan*, entring into the Imperiall palace, and turning her self towards the people, said, *Such as I come in hither, such I desire to come forth.* A head cut off in the *Greve* stupified, and astonished a sedition, and settled the authority of the regency, which was but newly begun, and *Villeroy* judged this example to be necessary, although alliance obliged him rather to looke after the abolishment, than the punishment of the crime.

She had in the beginning so much confidence in his counsels, that she thought they made up a part of the prosperity of her *Regency*, as *Athens* termed *Aristides* the felicity of *Greece*. Had they been followed, the first stirres raised against the government, had beene stifled in their birth, and the second had not passed *II* rivers, if her conference with *Monsieur* the Prince, had not been

been broken off.

She witnessed her great and just affection, when she visited him in a sharpe sicknesse, saying, that in her devotions, after shee had remembred the soule of her husband, and the life of her son, she prayed for the health of *Villeroy*.

THEY who have their tastes so depraved, that they forsake sweet for sowre, gultfull for unsavory, and who in discourse seeke for nothing but Satyricall stings, will say, that the lively colours of so many rare, and eminent qualities, as are in this Table, were to be heightned by the shadowes of reproches, fastned on the originall. But all this being but dust which marres it not, I remit them to two Apologies, which give a reason of all hath beene raised against his reputation.

It is true; men the most perfect,

fect, having imperfections; in him there hath been observed some excess of gravity. He knew the great supereminency which experience gave him over others, and was very carefull to preserve it; when he treated with the most able of all sorts; very sensible, and curious he was upon all passages, which proceeded against his judgement, he delighted to see his opinions applauded, and would not hazard them, unless he were sure they should finde credit, or successe.

I hereupon remember, that when Queene-mother sent him in the year 1612. to *Monsieur* the Prince, & to *Monsieur* Cauty to conjure them to return to the Court, they said of him, that *hee of all men in the world, was able alone to give a great Prince, bold, free, and good counsell; but he was so accustomed to goe before, that he made him to come after.*

He who sits highest in the Theater,

Theater, is loth to descend lower for the last commers. It is a harsh thing for such as have grown old in a Princes service, to yeeld to others. They still have in their mindes, that, which *Ctesiphon* said to *Eschines*. You playd the game, and I laid out the money: you wrote, and I spake: you were the wraistler, and I the spectator: you daunced, and I piped: you dispatched your owne businesse in the government, and I, those of the publicke.

The treaties of mariage between the King, and Queene, made him odious to such as consider the Crowne of *Spaine*, as a Comet on their side. Then was the time, when good intentions were decryed by some, suspected by other, and that Calumny began to assaile them. As *Hercules*, although the sonne of *Iupiter*, was not put into the number of the gods, untill he had fought with *Hydra*: so he had not arrived to the great reputation of being the

Oracle of this state, unlesse he had grappled with this monster. But as *Hercules* made to little account of slanders, that he ordained a sacrifice, wherein he would not be adored but by injuries, he mocked at it, and told his friends, *These kinde of divels are not driven away, but by contempt.*

A packet was brought him, surprized at *Orleans*, which was going to the Assembly at *Thoneins*, full stuffed with complaints and reproches against his honour, blaming him for advising these mariages, and urging the execution of them.

He shewed it to all the world, although it was in his power to have made it vapour away, unseen by any: a lesson for others, not to suppress either a dispatch, or an advice, how prejudiciall soever it may be to their honour, or to the fortune of their friends; for it is fit for the Prince to be informed of all, and that his service

take

take away all respects and particular interests.

It was read in the Cabinet, and every one admired the constancy of his soule, which neither shook nor was stirred with so rough assaults, even before the faces of King, Queen, and Princes, and other ministers of state. *It is weaknesse of spirit, or a confusion of crime, to resent an injurie, which one knows can neither touch, nor wound us. A lye covereth all.*

FORTVNE, which tryed the constancy of *Scevola* by fire: of *Fabricius* by poverty: of *Rutilius* by banishment, proved the courage of *Villeroy* by meanes which should uphold him, and his enemies shot arrowes against him, which they ought to have kept to defend him. As he was very odious to some, for having advised the alliance of *Spaine*, so he was blamed by others, for seeking to delay the accomplishment, and not ap-

approving the exchange of the government of *Picardy* for that of *Normandy*, he in a moment saw favour eclipsed.

He retired into his house of *Conflans*, proposing to himselfe to end in the haven, the yeares he had spent in the flood and ebbe. He had wished this retreat, but seldom enters this wish into the thoughts of Courtiers, who the elder they waxe in it, grow the more in love with it: For they know, when these starres fall from their Spheare, they not onely lose influence, and motion, but light also.

He was not suffered to taste the pleasures of solitude, he was made to know his absence prejudiced affaires, and that the generall Assembly of the States held then at *Paris*, was scandalized, that a man was taken from the sonne, who had so well served the father.

Honest men said, the safety of
the

the vessell was doubtfull, since good Pilots were not secure: what assurance is there in such confusions? And who will intermeddle in a state, where *Aristides* is wronged, *Socrates* is condemned, and *Aristotle* feares to abide?

HE returned at the Queens first command, protesting he would never be the cause of hindering the Kings service, & that the resentment of an injury, tooke not from him the sence of duty. He said, *The servant was not well advised, who retired upon his Masters anger.*

He returned then, but brought not backe with him, that first reputation, and stayed long, untill his patience had gnawne upon that, which his courage was to devoure, being sometimes preceded by those, who heretofore would have thought it an honour to follow him: but it being very hard to forgoe men so necessary,

cessary, the Queen sent him to *Creil*, and to *Clermont*, when the second motions began to stirre, and thence to *Guyen*.

IT is not fit to let a great understanding, born for action, to rest; and old age exacteth a thing unjust, when it makes him retire from attendance on the Prince, but if he be not permitted to repose at threescore and thirteen, nor is dispented with to goe a voyage of two hundred leagues through the most scorching heats, among, feares of surprizes, and designes of enemies, and to return from it, through extreme and insupportable colds, I know not at what age one should sacrifice to repose.

Having the last yeare made the voyage of *Poillon & Brittainne*, his great yeares, and indispositions ought to have excused him; but the occasion was too fayre, the journey too honourable, the service too necessary, to free a
man

man from it, who said the servant should not aske whither he was sent, contenting himselfe with the honor of the command, and to obey; for he cannot be ill accommodated, if his master be well served.

These long journeys have difficulties, from which the greatest, who finde accommodation every where, free not themselves, and those which are but sport and pleasure to the young, are insupportable to the aged.

For this it was, why *Budeus*, whom *Francis* the first made one of his *Secretaries*, to oblige him to follow him, and assist him to drive away ignorance and barbarisme, termed the Court-life, a life irksome, insolent, and embroyled. I have often revolved in my minde in those his journeyes, that excellent and learned Latine Letter he wrote to his sonne, to excuse him with his friends for not publishing a volume

lame of his Letters. Behold here the summe of it. I cannot intend it, not so much for the hinderance of affairs, as for the sundry disturbances of Court, and the strange enforcement of often changing place. How many times think you, for these fifteen dayes, have I had opportunity to sit, either to write, or read, in base, streight lodgings, and where one sees not at all, especially when all the rabble comes about one.

I doe nothing but runne up and down. It is more than a mile from the place where the King lyes, to my lodging, if it may be called a lodging, to be in the same Chamber pelmell among Peasants, their poultreys, and all things fed in the base Court, neare unto my horses, and unto Cocks distinguishing the night-watches.

I am besides, constrained to goe to the first Table I finde, and needs must I, (as it happens, and as Court chances are unexpected)

play

play the smell-feast. The Victual-ling houses being not still prepared, nor fit for honest men, we are enforced to retire into Cottages, where the raine comes in on every side, and where there is no household stuffe, but such as the Cyrenians had.

If Budens, one of the rarest men of his time, who brought Athens to Paris, and who was master of the Requests; in a time when there was but eight, suffered all this, a man must be very nice to complaine of the condition of his attendance at Court.

THE first overtures to end the warre being made at Bourdeaux by his dexterity, he was employed to Poitiers, to make the truce; he went from Tours to London to treat of the peace there. A negotiation, the most rugged, and difficult which was ever brought upon the Carpet, both for the diversity of interests, and the multitude of interested.

A

A Marshall of *France* preceded him in this Embassage, two Lords of the Councel assisted him. All his Discourses were lessons, and Commentaries to enlighten the most doubtfull occurrences. The prayse-worthy curiosity of one hath observed, and written what he said in conferences both publicke and familiar, and the collection he made, containeth matters so rare, and singular, that not to mention it, would wrong the History.

Returning from *London* to *Tours*, to shew unto the Queen, the thornes which choked the treaty, he forbore not to tell her, the Princes complained, that the King had no better notice of affaires; and speaking to his Majesty, he said, it was time he should take the care of them, and prefer *the most important before the least serious*, adding, that when Kings neglect their own affaires, there are still some found, who disturb them.

them, by undertaking to do them

This was a spark, which falling into his Royall soule, enkindled a resolution in him to be, that, for which God had created him. *It is impossible for a Prince to do all, and shamefull for him to doe nothing.* The high Chamberlaine of the *Persian* King, drawing aside the Curtaine said, *Rise (Sir) and give order in those affaires, which God hath committed to you.* The History judiciously observeth the morning: for it is not to be watchfull in affaires to come to them in the evening.

Vigilancy and Royalty are born together. It is the eye on the *Egyptian* Scepter.

Is it possible an eye can sleepe on the top of a Truncheon, or on the poynt of a launce? Princes and Ministers of state (as stars) must watch for those that sleep, & to make themselves capable of their affaires, they must often speake of them, and to more than one,

one, that they engage not the safety of many to the judgement of one man, as *Alexander Severus* consulted with Captains in enterprizes; with Iudges in matter of punishments and rewards; with learned men concerning examples to be followed, or eschewed; and with Priests in affaires of Religion.

VVERE the contentments which the Court affordeth perfectly pure, and not embroyled with envy, suspitions, and anxieties, those of *Villeroy* after the Treatie of *London*, would have been most absolute, having ended a miserable warre, which good and rationall men, even wth commiseration detested. All warre ought to be accounted for the sicknesse and malady, & peace for the true constitution, and wholesome temperature of a state. *A Prince commits no lesse an error in letting slip the occasion of a sure, and honourable peace,*

than

than by precipitating himselfe rashly, and imprudently into an unjust warre.

But he having in the treaty of *London*, more considered publicke interest, than particular, saw himselfe in such dis-favour, that he was constrained to suffer his charges to be disposed of, as they pleased. He in this precipice retained his ordinary constancy, as *Colossuses*, though thrown into a ditch, lose not their greatnesse.

He consecrated the houres to piety, which he had heretofore employed in affaires, and men wondred to see him give eare to Sermons at the same time, when our Kings formerly took delight to hearken to him. Heretofore he sought for God at Court, he now findes him in retirement. One cannot be at the same time in *Babylon*, and *Ierusalem*, and he who is in *That*, must ever have the window of his soule open towards *This*.

After

After this memorable time, which put the vessels into the port of a perfect tranquility, that had too long floated on the Anchor, in an instant Armes were seen to fall out of the Princes hands, and the designs of a third faction to be stopped. The King presently advertised him of it, he caused him to come to *Louvre*, and as it were, casting himselfe between his armes, put upon him the whole care of his affairs and state.

He shewed him the letters he had prepared, and which were all ready upon this occasion to be sent to the Governours of *Provinces*; he approved them. They were the lines of a good pen, and a brave spirit, who preferring fidelity due to his King and Country, before any other obligation, had two yeares together wisely and courageously managed a great part of this great and dangerous designe.

Auncient

Auncient ministers of state were taken off from affaires, or rather affaires were bereaved of their good direction, and the three principall offices of state were strayned, and dissolved into one man, the first countell which *Villeroy* gave the King, was, to restore them to their charges, re-establish the former order.

The King rejoyced at the returne of *Monsieur* the Chancelour, as he had deplored his departure, and frequent teares, which fell from the Queens eyes, when he took leave of her at *Blois*, shewed the violence which her soule had suffered to consent to this change. The Lord Keeper of the Scales, who had more freely yeelded them up, than accepted them again, received them the second time from the Kings hand, who prayesd his vertue and justice, not unlike to *Euphrates*, which never alters his course for the opposition of the

the highest mountains. The superintendent of *Finances* continued his charge with the same integrity, but with much more power than before. The Controulership generall of *Finances* was given him, whom *Henry the Great* had entrusted with it, and who had so much sincerity, loyalty, & honour in this charge, that wishes cannot adde to the contentment, which the publicke, & his conscience gave him.

HE went to the Assembly of *Roan*, and carried thither good thoughts, and wholesome counsels for the service of the King, and good of the state, not hiding his dislike, to see that after this great *Crisis*, the malady was not wholly taken away. He made this journey upon condition, he at his returne, might thinke no more but on the greatest, and to forsake the toyies of Court and noyle of the City. Amongst the many Temples which *Rome* raised

raised to its fabulous Deities, that, of *Repose* was in the Countrey. Writing to his sonne, the governour of *Lyons*, he wished him to doe his businesse in the morning, as if he were sure to lose it in the evening.

HIS most sensible contentments appeared in the marriage of the Marquesse *Villeroy*, his grand-childe, with the daughter of *Monsieur Crequies* grand-child, the brave *Marshall*, the *Demetrius* of his time, who at the age of threescore and eightene, affrighted *Lombardy*. He recommended nothing so much to this young Lord, as the Kings service, thinking this command comprehended all other.

Obey the King, is to perform the principall poynt of the Law; For who giveth not to *Cesar* what belongs to *Cesar*, is alwayes slacke in his duty towards God. This is a precept, which the Nobility of *France* should night and

Ce

day

day study; It is the gold which the Oracle advised should be hanged at the eares of the *Lydian* youth.

The rules which a great man of this kingdome gave lately to his sonne (an officer of the Crowne) for his better direction, are good for all those, who will walke in innocency before heaven, and in honour on earth. I account these the most certaine: *Render your selfe obedient, and at hand neare the King at the houres you shall thinke to be most acceptable to him, conforme your will to his, seek for what he affecteth, make it your principall delight to please him, and to gaine his good favour. To thinke to make your selfe more esteemed by great expence, than by vertue, and frugality is an abuse: yea verily, a folly.* All the Philosophers of the Vniversity, and of experience, cannot furnish you with better precepts, either to make, or maintaine a fortune in Court.

Pre-

PRESENTLY after the beginning of the assembly, death violently assailed *Villeroy*, but it surprized him not: for he long before was prepared for that day, the last of age, and first of Eternity, and had seen all that, to dye before him, which disturbeth the contentment of a sweet death. There are none, but such as are well prepared to dye, who goe joyfully, and constantly towards death.

The violence thereof lasted but twice foure and twenty hours, it nothing at all taking away the strength of his judgement, nor vigour of his patience, sweetly breathing forth his last in the hope and thirst of eternall life, and in the testimonies of piety, which he so religiously had manured all his life time. His body was opened to be embalmed, and carried to *Magny*, the place of buriall of his ancestors; there was no bloud found in him, he having

C c 2 made.

made his service continue to the last drop.

The King in words worthy the goodnesse of such a master, and the merit of such a servant, shewed he felt in his heart this losse, and the remembrance of what he dying, recommended unto him. The Prince who looserth an ancient servant able to give him counsell without passion, and to tell him truth without flattery, is well assured of the felicity of his state, if his affaires be not sensible of such a losse.

INSTANTLY

after Villeroy had yeelded up the Ghost, the Chauncellor, the Keeper of the Seales, Monsieur President Janin, who knew true amities got beyond a tombe, said to the King, he could not better witness he had loved the father, then by affecting, his.

The King made his love appear by sending a message to Monsieur de Halincourt. that as
he

be in Monsieur Villeroy had lost a good father, so he should in him ever finde a good Master. His letters next day after his death on the thirteenth of December, expressed the sorrow of his Majesty. It is a losse (these are his words) which I particularly resent, not onely as acknowledging, and having tryed in divers occasions, together with his fidelity and affection the effects of the long experience he had acquired in the manage of my affaires, and how necessary, and profitable he was for me. There is no service so great which is not well requited with such words, and none can be found to be more excellent, for the honour of his Tombe. As it is an imprudence in all kinde of discourses to speake things superfluous, and from the purpose, so it is a treachery to omit the necessary. I might account my self culpable both of the one and other, if I should forget that the
Cc 3 King

King by the like effects of his affection commanded *Monsieur* the Duke of *Vendour* and *Monsieur* the Marshall De *L'Esdaignieres*, to accord the difference between *Monsieur D'Halin-court*, and *Monsieur De S. Chaumont*, &c that this difference was so incensed, that although the wils of men were well united in what concerned the service of his Majesty, and common safety, yet passion disuniteth the affections of many.

One, whom the King drew from his Councell of state to give him the superintendency of *Indicature*, and government of this Province, made an excellent remonstrance upon this.

*Whose lively reasons, plumb'd
with words as strong,*

*Through generous souls (as ar-
rows) passe along.*

That it may appeare that the Kings Subjects in such like divisions should not suffer their affections

ctions and judgements to run after those interests, which appertain not to them, but reserve them wholly, for the service of his Majesty, for publick necessities and their particular quiet; for all partialities finally conclude in seditions.

The name of *Villeroy* hath been so celebrated every where, that the memory thereof shall eternally be much honoured. Cardinals never are present at Ceremonies of funerals, but for Princes, yet here five; *Bervilacqua*, *Vicenzo*, *Bonzy*, *Ubalino*, and *Ursino* were present at his obsequies, and funerall Sermon, learnedly and elegantly pronounced by a Jesuit in the Church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*. The Archbishop of *Lyon*, who performed it so worthily, and who so well understands the Kings service, tooke upon him the care of this duty. There, *Italian Ladies*, many *Lords*, infinite other, *French* by birth,

birth, or affectiō were to be seen.

Behold what I have observed upon the life of *Monsieur Villeroy*, that every one may make an estimate of his merits and services. I was bound unto it, being unable to forget the account he made of my writings, the good liking he delivered of them to *Henry the Great*, the paines he pleased to take, not to see, and slightly overlooke them (for every one can do so) but to correct them, which none could do so well. I, in this have often found, that it is an incredible contentment, to submit ones labours to a great and sincere judgment: For if he like them, others are not to be feared, if he approve them not, one will strive to do better. I desired the one more than the other. For approbation is very pleasing, but correction more profitable. I wish the gratitude of my duty may in this appeare: for it is a kinde of ingrati-
tude

titude to tell, but to few, the good we have received from any one.

The King wanteth not worthy men to supply this place, and *France* in the production of brave spirits, is the golden branch of *Sybilla*, which loosing one leafe, thrusts out another; but there goeth much time to make up a man of such experience; besides, it is an incomparable helpe to have been under the discipline of *Henry the Great*, and to have observed, that he proposed, what he would resolve, and put in execution what he had resolved on.

THE prosperity we enjoyed in the first yeares of his reigne, were likewise the effects of the great prudence and magnanimity of this Prince, who had in the calme foreseen from whence the storme might come, and how to divert it. It had perhaps continued longer, had the like order been still observed, and those who have observed the

difference of times and events, have compared the advices of this great King, to the city of *Athens*, whose clymate was to temperate, that in what part of the world soever one were, he had cause to be sorry, he enjoyed not so sweet, & wholesome an abode

THE losse of a good servant is not easily repaired, whole Ages are necessary to make *Villeroys*. *Augustus* lost two, which he never found againe among so many millions of men in his Empire. His legions were as loone made up, as dissolved: The sea saw new fleets, where it had swallowed up the old: Buildings rise from out of their ruines, more pompous and splendid than they were; but all the time of his reign he was heard to bewaile *Agrippa*, and *Mecenas*, finding not any worthy to supply their places.

I am deceived; The losse of a good servant is in some sort repaired, when his counsels are fol-

followed, and the *Maximes* are observed, which his long experience authorized, as infallible principles of verity. It is not to desire a slight happinesse to the state, to wish that *Monsieur Villeroi* were alwayes in employment by his good advice, since divine providence permitteth not him to be personally therein, and that it principally consisteth in the observation of that wholesome counsell which he alwaies gave his masters: *To prevent commotions, and not to neglect light faults, lest they draw on great.* The first examples of justice & the first acts of revenge, are the best, and such as fall upon the authors of sedition, destroy it. *Phalaris* did onely one act of justice by shutting him in the brazen Bull, who invented it.

B V T it is enough: the rest is in the History, I have but this one thing to say. I must after an excellent and free discourse published

lished at *Rome* in the beginning of the assembly, affirme, that *Monsieur Villeroy* was the First-mover of state-affaires, the miracle of *Prudence*, and *Wisedome*, the Sphere from whence those brave spirits descended, which received the Kings commands; And in a word, the *Archimede* who made all *Europe* move; and who as *Archimedes* breathed out his last, over his figures, and dyed in great and sublime meditations for the glory of this Crown, and the reformation of disorders.

The end.